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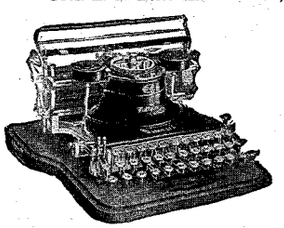

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The Outlook

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Vol. 122 June 18, 1919 No. 7

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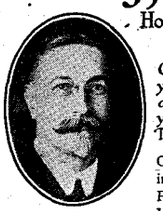

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The Outlook

JUNE 18, 1919

EASING GERMANY'S BURDEN

IN the process of openly arriving at open covenants, according to the practice at the Peace Conference, very little official information is transmitted to the public; but a good deal comes through press despatches which, if not information exactly, is at least strong intimation. From these press despatches, sent by correspondents of varying sympathies and interests, it is evident that for a week or more there has been a strong tendency in the Big Four—consisting of President Wilson, Prime Minister Lloyd George, Monsieur Clemenceau, President of the Council, and Signor Orlando—to make the terms easier for Germany. Of these four Monsieur Clemenceau is the one who stands out against this tendency. France is still on the frontier of freedom.

Apparently there is the feeling that it is safe now to forget that Germany was not merely an enemy, but was also a criminal. There are intimations continued from the week before that the Kaiser and others in the Imperial Government of Germany will never be brought to trial.

There are very definite statements to the effect that the reparation demanded from Germany for the incalculable injury she has done is to be materially modified in Germany's favor. In particular, it is asserted that the amount of money required, instead of being left to be determined by the facts as they are slowly but accurately gathered in the future, is to be limited to a fixed sum which, it is safe to say, would never be increased hereafter, no matter how much may hereafter be discovered as due and collectable. There is every reason to believe the quite unanimous report that such modification is approved by the American delegates.

It is also reported, and not disputed, that the admission of Germany within a comparatively brief time, to be measured by months, not years, to the League of Nations on an equality with all other countries is seriously advocated and almost agreed to. The pretext, if not real reason, for this is the argument that the admission of Germany to the League of Nations will keep her from forming a rival league; but how can reasonable men expect any real solidarity in the League of Nations if it is composed of a criminal and a sheriff's posse?

AUSTRIA COMPLAINS

During last week the Austrians expressed their dissatisfaction with the peace terms offered them. It is hardly to be expected that Austria, once the chief partner in a dual control of 50,000,000 people, would be satisfied to become a small kingdom of 7,000,000. A glance at the map printed with this shows how Austria has been reduced from an empire to one of the smallest countries in Europe. According to the peace terms, she has not even a door upon the sea. She becomes, like Switzerland, an inland nation. The fact, however, that Austria calls the terms unjust does not make them unjust. Austria's present plight was foreseen long before the war ended. We may have sympathy with a good many of the Austrians who have no real and personal responsibility for the circumstances of which they have become victims, but there ought to be no regret that the arrogant and tyrannical demand upon Serbia, by which Austria precipitated the world war, has had this outcome.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AS IT WAS; AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY AS THEY ARE

The shaded portions show the extent of the Dual Monarchy before the war; the black portions include the territory now left to the two countries

THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

In voting to print in the "Record" the full text of the Peace Treaty, even though it had not been officially communicated to the Senate by the President, and in voting to investigate statements that copies of the Treaty had found their way to private citizens in or out of Wall Street, the Senate has not done anything to bring great enlightenment to the country, but it has rendered a good service nevertheless.

To the ordinary citizen the details of the Peace Treaty will not be of great interest or concern. The fact that it is published in detail in an unofficial form is not likely to have much effect. Nor is the fact that the Treaty has come into private hands surprising. The difficulty of keeping any secret increases in geometrical ratio with the number of persons to whom the secret is confided. Such a document as this Treaty which is confided to a considerable number of officials is bound to fall into other hands. What is important, however, is that the Senate should assert its right as a part of the government of a free people.

Since our Constitution expressly provides that treaties of peace shall be negotiated with the advice and consent of the Senate, it seems to us that the President should have found some way of keeping the Senate informed of the process of negotiations as they were conducted in Paris. The most natural method would have been the appointment of two Senators, one from the Democratic, one from the Republican party, to represent the country in Paris. If there were adequate

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reasons why he could not do this, he could at least have kept himself in communication with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations while the negotiations were going on. Senators have good reason to feel that all opportunities for performing their Constitutional duties have been denied by the President. The climax of this policy is reached when the Treaty is given to the German nation and at the same time denied to the American Senate, without whose co-operation the Treaty, so far as the American people is concerned, is without any validity.

It is highly important, therefore, that the Senate should be conscious of its rights and its responsibilities in this matter. Amendment of the Treaty, and consequently inevitable delay, would inflict injury to the public interest; but it is not certain that greater injury may not be inflicted by defects which the Senate may discover in it. It is the business of the Senate to decide in a judicial and non-partisan spirit which will be the less injurious—to leave defects uncorrected, or to delay the adoption of the Treaty by the process of amendment. By its action last week the Senate showed that it is not unaware of its power and its duty.

A GREAT MILITARY CITIZEN

One of the men to whom the United States owes a great debt which has never been paid is Major-General Enoch H. Crowder. His service was not merely a military service; it was a service to the moral and civic spirit of the Nation. It is fitting, therefore, that he should be the recipient of honorary degrees from American universities. On June 4 he was honored by Columbia University, and it is understood that he will likewise be honored by other colleges.

It is to him more than to any other man that America owes the possibility of performing one of the miracles of the war. In spite of warning, in spite of the efforts of thousands of citizens who had learned the lesson of history, in spite of the object-lessons which Germany was daily giving us for two years and a half, the United States was shockingly unprepared for war when war was declared. General Crowder, however, was not unprepared. For years he had studied the problem of what self-governing free people like the Americans should do to organize themselves for war. He had worked out the plan. In every detail he had provided for emergencies. He believed that it would be necessary to form a great army of citizens, and he likewise believed that the organization by which that army should be formed should be under citizen control. He counted on the power of the civic spirit of the community to carry through what could never be accomplished by bayonets or machine guns. His conception has been termed conscription. It is more accurate to call it a form of mass volunteering. He created the Draft Board. He conceived and put through the process of selective service. He was ready with a plan, and when the law was passed he was ready with all the blanks and the detailed plans of organization. It seems as if our Service Boards sprang up in a night. They did, because the seed was prepared and planted.

General Crowder is a military man who understands the civic spirit of a free people and who provided a free people with a powerful military instrument admirably suited to their spirit and their needs.

ON THE KNIFE-EDGE

"I believe a hurt has come to Europe that may be greater than any hurt that is measured by the destruction that war has wrought directly, . . . and that hurt is the disorganization of the whole industrial machine of the Continent of Europe, and in a lesser degree of England."

This is in substance what Mr. Frank Vanderlip, who has since resigned as President of the National City Bank of New York, said before the Merchants' Association of that city on June 4. It is likewise the substance of what he has said on two other occasions—a meeting of the Economic Club and a meeting of the Pan-American Conference.

The picture which he has drawn of Europe has shocked a good many Americans. It has been received with skepticism. It has been called pessimistic. Men who have seen Europe, however, within the past few months, who have seen something beneath the surface, have received a greater shock than any speech that Mr. Vanderlip or any one else could give. What is striking about Mr. Vanderlip's speeches is not their pessimism, but their optimism. He believes that Europe is balancing on the knife-edge, and he also believes that Europe can be saved.

What Mr. Vanderlip is looking at is not merely the devastation in Belgium and northern France, but the disorganization of the industrial machine, the idleness, the closed factories, the want and hunger. And even more than that, he notes the discontent that is not satisfied with mere increase of wages, but survives in that "grave suspicion in the minds of a great body of workers that there is some legerdemain, there is something by which you can apparently hand them higher wages, but so manipulate the value of what you pay the wages in that they are worth no more to the man who earns them; and with that suspicion in the minds of men there is always inflammable material."

Europe, he explains, can be saved only by providing her with the things that will enable her to work. She is a huge industrial center like a city. She must have credit and raw materials. And we here in America are the ones who can help. And by helping Europe we help ourselves, for any trouble that comes to Europe as a consequence of continued idleness is going to be deeper than any trouble that she has had and is going to spread to this hemisphere. Mr. Vanderlip expresses his optimism by saying: "If you could share my opinion of the opportunity that America is going to have in the world, the opportunity of service, of responsibility, and of recompense—if you could share my opinion, you would be the most optimistic crowd of men that ever was gotten together under a roof." And he adds:

> Now, all that is based on the supposition that Europe is going to gather herself together and start back toward a normal life under the present capitalistic system of society. Remember, I am not sure that Europe is going to do that, but if Europe does, then our position is the most favored that any nation in any time in history ever had.

Mr. Vanderlip's conclusion is that the short cut to industrial peace lies in such an understanding of the labor question as will enlist the brains and good will of labor; that "the greatest question in the world to-day is this adjustment of differences between capital and labor;" and that that question will have to be approached on the part of employers with an understanding and liberalism that goes further than anything we have had hitherto. The future of the world, he said, rests with the country which is the first to solve the problem of labor and capital.

STRIKING AGAINST EVERYBODY

If the telegraph and telephone workers abandon their wires, not the employing corporations but the citizens of the country will be the most seriously injured party. There may have been a time when the telegraph and telephone were luxuries, but to-day they are a domestic as well as a business necessity; and, as has been pointed out, if this so-called sympathetic strike were really universal, a call to police or fire department from a home in trouble would be in vain. Fortunately, no such universal strike is likely. The Western Union Company is very positive that the strike ordered to begin just as this issue of The Outlook is going on the press will be a failure, and points to the relatively small number of its operators who are members of the unions concerned as evidence of this.

The public is not so much interested at this moment in the causes of this proposal to put the wires of the country out of business as it is in the fact that such

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a proposition should be made seriously. The trouble, as we understand it, originated in the dismissal of a few operators in Atlanta, as the unions allege because of their union connections, as the company alleges because of other reasons. A strike of the operators belonging to the telegraphers' union in Atlanta followed; thence the strike order was extended throughout the Southern States; and now it is proposed to call out operators throughout the country in sympathetic support. The operators insist that the real question at issue is the right of collective bargaining; the company makes the usual reply that it is ready to deal with committees of employees and that an association of operators exists which is working in harmony with the corporation. From Cleveland, on June 10, comes the statement that the telephone workers, both operators and construction men, and also the unions of electrical workers not connected with telegraph or telephone, are preparing to join the strike purely as a sympathetic demonstration. The recent action of Secretary Burleson in turning back to the companies the operation (not the control) of the wires has relieved the Government of responsibility for these strikes which many think it ought to have. But if a National strike is declared the Government through its Labor Board should certainly intervene.

One benefit to the country might result amid all the evil, inconvenience, and damage that would follow such a wide-scale strike—that is, it might serve to bring one patent truth into the practical field of legislation, the truth that strikes or lockouts by bodies of men employed in the public service should be made contrary to law, at least certainly illegal until arbitration and conciliation have done their best; a necessary corollary is that authorized and effective methods of such arbitration should be provided by law.

The spread of the sympathetic strike on a large scale and its occasional growth into what is called a "general strike," in which all union men, or even all workers without regard to trade or employment, are called upon to stop their work in order to bring pressure upon the settlement of some particular grievance or demand, are likely to divide organized labor into two camps. The American Federation of Labor, which is in National session as we write, is apparently opposed to this "general strike" idea. For instance, it is expected that the American Federation will pronounce positively against the proposal to inaugurate a Nation-wide strike in July in protest against the continued imprisonment of Thomas J. Mooney. A large number of individual unions have voted in favor of such a strike, and it is said that a majority of the delegates at the American Federation meeting believe that Mooney was unfairly tried and that there should be a remedy. If, therefore, the Federation discountenances such a general strike, it is on the ground that this is an improper and unfitting method of dealing with labor problems. Another similar sign among the more conservative representatives of organized labor is the recent action of the American Federation in taking away its charters from some unions in Canada which have been concerned in the recent dangerous general strikes.

The plan of getting all workmen to act as if they belonged to "one big union" and to strike without regard to the question whether men in their own trades are affected by a labor problem is unsound in reason, extremely dangerous to public welfare in execution, and is so unlimited in its appeal that it will probably prove a total failure and will fall to the ground from its own overweight. The attempts at this method of compulsion by universal threat and boycott that have been made in Seattle and in several Canadian cities have roused public sentiment against the idea and proved that it is intolerable.

A DIVISION AMONG RADICAL THINKERS

Not only in labor circles, but among Socialists of the type who believe in advancing the ideas of Socialism by political and not by revolutionary methods, there is coming to be a sharp division. Evidences of this have lately been brought out in the protest of such Socialists against the wild talk of Anarchists who, under the guise of Socialism, advocate "direct action," or, so far as they dare, uphold or suggest the methods of the murderous villains who institute attacks on organized society, such as the recent bomb explosions in American cities. Mr. Morris Hillquit, for instance, has earnestly protested in behalf of such Socialists against the use of that name in describing the advocates of Russian Bolshevism in this country. He declares that the Socialists must "clear the decks," and stigmatizes the present agitation of the "left wing" of so-called Socialists as "a purely emotional reflex of the situation in Russia, . . . a schismatic and disintegrating movement, . . . a sort of burlesque on the Russian Revolution."

It is not always easy to draw the line between reasonable radicals and agitators who are distinctly public enemies. Men like Debs and Berger have been so excessive in their violent utterances that they are certainly over the line. When, for instance, Berger, at a recent meeting in New York, said, as reported, "If the capitalists persist in their persecution of Socialism they will have anarchism, and they will deserve it," he certainly ranked himself with red revolutionists, and no Socialist of what has come to be comparatively a conservative type should show sympathy for such men or such utterances.

Various suggestions and proposals intended to deal with violence and threats of violence have been made since the recent bomb explosions. The opinion of thoughtful statesmen seems to incline to the belief that what is needed is not more law, but better enforcement of the laws we have.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

The proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution submitted by the necessary two-thirds vote of the United States Senate to the States for ratification is in its text the identical amendment framed by Susan B. Anthony in 1875. It reads as follows:

> Article —, Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.
>
> Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

The vote in the Senate was 56 to 25 in favor of the resolution; there were thus two more affirmative votes than the requisite two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, while eleven Senators were paired or absent. The political complexion of the vote in the Senate, so far as one existed, is shown by the fact that the resolution was supported in the combined vote of the two houses of Congress by 237 Republicans and 121 Democrats, and opposed by 27 Republicans and 87 Democrats. President Wilson sent a cable message of congratulation to the leaders of the woman suffrage cause.

Ratification by thirty-six of the States—three-fourths of the forty-eight—will be necessary to bring about the adoption of what may be the Nineteenth Amendment. Illinois and Wisconsin have already ratified. Advocates of Nation-wide suffrage are already planning vigorous campaigns for the doubtful States, and even hope that they may succeed in having special sessions of legislatures called to hasten ratification in time to allow of women voting everywhere at the next Presidential election. They are optimistic as to the probabilities of victory, and base their belief partly on the fact that already twenty-seven States allow women to vote in Presidential elections, and partly on the impetus obtained by the movement as a recognition of women's patriotic aid in war work and through the approval of Congress. As one evidence of the rapidity of the growth

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of public sentiment they point to the reversal of New York State's refusal in 1915 by a majority of 185,000 to accept the measure, when two years later it was carried by a majority of 102,000 votes. At that time The Outlook editorially recognized the steady progress of public opinion in this and other countries and the probable success of the effort to give women the ballot. It pointed out also what may here be repeated as now equally applicable, but on a National scale: "Wherever woman suffrage is asked for and granted there is laid upon the women a duty of doing something more than drop a ballot in a box. It lays on them the duty of new lines of study, discussion, and thought. A million and three-quarters of uninformed and indifferent voters added to the polling lists of New York State would be a calamity. The addition of a million and three-quarters of thoughtful, intelligent, and conscientious voters would be of inestimable value."

THE MENACE OF MEXICO

The constant uneasiness as to the danger of incursions from Mexico into American territory and violence to or pillaging of American citizens may be exaggerated by memories of what happened in Texas at Columbus and elsewhere, but it is certainly felt by the people who live near our border. The latest evidence of this is the earnest declaration of Governor Hobby, of Texas, in a long telegram to the Secretary of War, that the Mexican situation is critical; that an emergency may arise at any moment; that there are not enough troops near our border, and that he would like to have two brigades of the Texan National Guard Cavalry called into the Federal service. Informal reports from the War Department indicate that it considers Governor Hobby unduly alarmed and that the 20,000 troops now near the border are enough to prevent disorder.

The repeated threats of Villa against the Carranza régime and his reported occupation of the city of Chihuahua simply mean that northern Mexico is extremely likely again to be the scene of fierce partisan and guerrilla fighting. Granting Carranza all the good intentions conceivable, few people believe that he can make Mexico free from brigandage on a big scale and revolution perhaps on a small scale from now on until the new election for the Presidency takes place next year. In a sense, fighting is local in Mexico, but it is local in a large area, and, unfortunately, one locality involved is near our border.

Recent remarks of Mr. Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives, gave offense to some representatives of Mexico, who pointed to the large production of raw material in Mexico and the resulting great expansion of its exports as an evidence of peaceful and prosperous conditions in that country. Undoubtedly production has enormously increased in certain industries, and exports from Mexico have gone up by leaps and bounds, but this does not alter the fact that in other industries life and property are in danger, or that foreign, and probably especially American, managers and experts are exposed to blackmail and violence. Mr. Gillett said in plain words: "To get protection from either a regular or a bandit government only by paying for it is not civilized. . . . For some years the property and often the lives of foreigners in Mexico have been unsafe." Mexico and the United States may put up with this state of things if they find that Carranza can gradually improve it and educate his people in the schools and in the art of self-government—and it is fair to say that many people believe that Carranza is honestly trying to do this. But if conditions grow worse instead of better the old question of the danger to this country of a next-door neighbor who is quarrelsome at home and abroad will certainly come up in renewed and emphasized form.

THE JEWS IN POLAND

The appearance of new charges of cruelty to Jews in Lithuania has led to further discussion of the treatment of Jews by Poles. Statements that have been made by the Polish Premier, Mr. Paderewski, by General Pilsudski, and by Mr. Hugh Gibson, the American Minister at Warsaw, increase the belief, expressed in a discussion of this subject two weeks ago, that the constant use of the word "pogrom" in this connection is misleading and incorrect. By this we mean that neither the Polish Government nor the Polish army has connived at attacks or outrages upon the Jews, nor have they countenanced religious or racial warfare.

General Pilsudski, who is the President of the Polish Republic, for instance, totally denied that anything of the kind had taken place, while admitting that at Pinsk and at Vilna there had been attacks upon Jews, or fights between Jews and soldiers, which sprang from economic causes and from belief that the Jews attacked were Bolshevist in sympathy or spies of the enemy the Poles were fighting. Mr. Paderewski says much the same thing, with earnest assurances that his Government is using every effort to preserve order in a newly created country that is being viciously attacked by enemies on more sides than one, and has to deal with hostile sentiments within as well as without its borders. He adds specifically that Poland will not tolerate the persecution of Jews.

It is clear that searching inquiry should be made into the facts. Both Jews and Poles have asked the Paris Conference to take up the question. It should certainly lend its influence to condemn anything like racial or religious hatred or persecution, just so far as that despicable condition may exist.

MODERN HEALTH CRUSADERS

A very complete description was given in these columns under date of February 27, 1918, of the formation of the Modern Health Crusaders and the work the organization had accomplished up to that time. The National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis stands sponsor for this movement, which has for its object the introduction of a system of health education into thousands of elementary schools.

The whole Crusade is based on a system of so-called "Health Chores." There are eleven of these, planned to promote cleanliness and health. They are simple tasks, such as washing the hands before meals, keeping neck, ears, and finger-nails clean, breathing deeply, getting plenty of sleep and fresh air, brushing the teeth, and forming regular habits. The chores are made specific. The first one, for instance, reads, "I washed my hands before each meal to-day." Charts have been made allowing a space to check each chore every day of the week. These are distributed through the schools to the parents of the children. There is also a school-room chart which shows the rank of every member of the class. It is here that the first competitive feature comes in. A Nation-wide tournament of classroom groups was inaugurated on February 9, to last for fifteen weeks. The trophies for the victors will be pennants and banners, presented jointly by the National Tuberculosis Association and the American Red Cross.

The growth of the society has been remarkable. During the early part of last year its membership numbered about 500,000. There are now, however, in the neighborhood of 3,000,000 American school-children from six to sixteen years of age who have qualified as Crusaders through the official Health Chores. This number does not include enlistments in foreign countries to which the Crusade has spread, such as China, Korea, Canada, Cuba, and France.

WHAT THE CRUSADERS FIND

There are Crusaders in every State in the Union, Texas having the largest representation of three hundred and ten thousand, Minnesota's recruits numbering two hundred and fifty thousand. The Crusade

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Kirby in the New York World

A BIRD THAT CAN'T BE SCARED

Cassel in the New York Evening World

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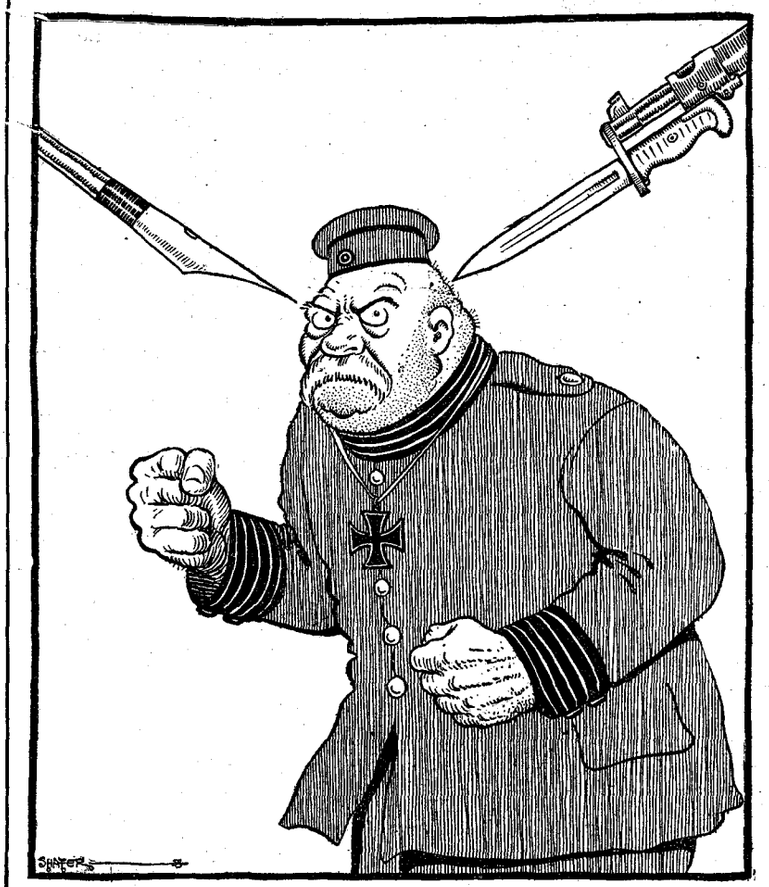
STRAINING AT THE LEASH!

Shafer in the Cincinnati Post

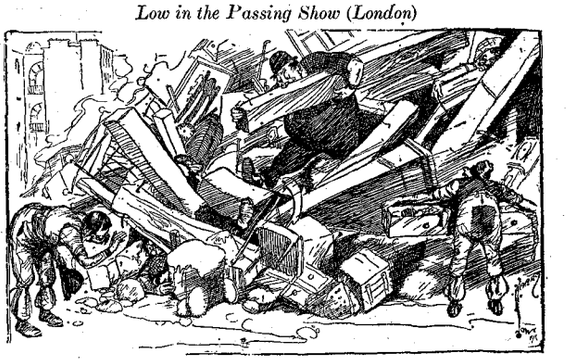


NOT FOURTEEN—ONLY TWO—POINTS LEFT

"Rags" in Blighty (London)

Solicitor: "If you want me to defend you, you'll have to pay. How much money have you got?"
Client: "Five pounds."
Solicitor: "And what are you accused of stealing?"
Client: "Five pounds."

Low in the Passing Show (London)



Pat (to submerged mate): "It's all right, Barney; we'll have you out in no time."
Barney: "Is big Clancy up there helpin' yez?"
Pat: "He is that."
Barney: "Then tell him, for the love o' Mike, to get off. Oi've enough rubbish on my chest already."

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has the public indorsement of the Governors of some of the States, and the reports from the superintendents and teachers of the various schools in all sections of the country are interesting and sometimes amusing. In Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Oklahoma, for instance, there was a great run on tooth-brushes. In one town it is reported that "there was not a tooth-brush to be bought in any of the drug stores. Such news should indicate that our citizens are strong believers in keeping their teeth clean. But such is not altogether the case. The schools are putting on the Modern Health Crusade, and the pupils have taken to it like ducks to water." A Wisconsin superintendent writes: "I wish I had been informed of this campaign long ago, so that I might have stocked up with tooth-brushes, soap, and nail-files. . . . I would be a wealthy man had I been given a tip in time." The use of a common tooth-brush for the family is a more prevalent custom than one would imagine.

In New Mexico a Pueblo Indian boy removed a window from his home in order that he might get the mark for Chore 8. He also bathed in the almost icy river so that he might get the two baths prescribed. Two little boys had never slept with open windows. They were told to take the folders home to their mother and ask her to let them keep the windows open that night. The following morning the teacher met one of the boys, who, without any word of greeting, said: "She said we could, and we did!" So for the first time in their lives these boys slept in the fresh air.

One mother's indorsement is to the effect that her boy "used to fight if he had to wash. Now he would fight if he were not allowed to." And the teachers find that through the carrying out of these Health Chores the work in the classroom is much easier. It is not so often found necessary to send the pupils out to wash. The children look neater, and there is a noticeable improvement in the attendance.

The whole Nation is alive to-day to the need for a health campaign. It was found that three out of every ten men examined for the draft were disqualified because of physical disability, and in the vast majority of cases these physical defects could have been prevented if habits of health had been formed in childhood.

Like the Americanization work which is being done among the foreign-born in the schools, this Health Crusade among the children is carried into the homes throughout the land. Full information concerning the plan of organization and the work of the Modern Health Crusaders can be obtained from the Anti-Tuberculosis Associations of the various States or from the National Tuberculosis Association, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

PARTY LEADERSHIP

IN this issue we print the second of Senator Davenport's articles on the political and legislative situation in New York State. Mr. Davenport writes as a Republican but not as a partisan.

The problems and necessities that confront his party in the Empire State are those which that party has to face in the Nation as the Presidential campaign of 1920 approaches. The issue of that campaign, as we see it, will be conservative-liberalism *versus* impetuous radicalism. But no leaders will succeed in conserving what is good in American institutions unless they are genuinely actuated by a spirit of liberal humanism.

If the Republican party expects to receive a popular mandate to administer the affairs of this country, it must see that its great captains and lesser captains are men of high standards and human sympathies.

The National Chairman, Mr. Hays, is such a man. Where are the State chairmen of a similar type? What is the State committee of New York doing to enlist the civic enthusiasm of the younger voters? Are other States any more alive to the necessities of the situation? We are not making criticisms, we are asking questions.

Theodore Roosevelt in 1910, in addressing the Sorbonne at Paris, said something that deserves re-reading at this juncture in Republican circles. These are his words:

"The average citizen must be a good citizen if our republics are to succeed. The stream will not permanently rise higher than the main source; and the main source of national power and national greatness is found in the average citizenship of the nation. Therefore it behooves us to do our best to see that the standard of the average citizen is kept high; and the standard cannot be kept high *unless the standard of the leaders is very much higher*."

MAKING THE LEAGUE A PERSONAL ISSUE

BAD temper never wins a convert. Personalities in debate never persuade. Searching for hidden motives invariably fails to reveal convincing arguments. This is something that every man's experience teaches. It would seem, therefore, that men engaged in the discussion of great questions might avoid in the course of their debate what they must know never serves any man's case. Yet a great deal of the debate over the League of Nations has little to do with the merits of the question.

Of what use is it to accuse the men who oppose or support the project for a League of Nations of being actuated by partisan politics? Those who are opposed to the League are not going to be persuaded to support it by being told that they are prejudiced partisans. And those who are supporting the League will be no readier to listen to arguments against it because they hear themselves denounced for their partisanship. Here, for example, is a sentence from one newspaper article in support of the League: "Looking at all this, I would deliberately say that I would rather take my stand with Judas Iscariot, with Abdul the Damned, with the memories of that vile court that sentenced Joan of Arc to flames, with John Wilkes Booth or Charles J. Guiteau, than line up with a purpose so diabolical, so far-reaching in its mischievous effects, as that of defeating the League of Nations." The opponents of the League can rival its supporters, however, in this sort of debate. Here is an illustration from a speech in the United States Senate: "There is an ex-President of the United States who is quite active in promoting the League, both the original and the amended League. He says that pygmies and old ladies are the only ones who are opposing either form of the League. If he were to put on a kimono and shave off his mustache, Mr. President, he would be the prize dowager of the whole beauteous sisterhood."

As the debate continues in the public press and in the Senate Chamber one is impelled toward undiscriminating support of the League by its opponents, only to find one's self repelled from the League by its supporters. On the one hand, the American citizen seeking enlightenment is informed that the Covenant of the League of Nations is the price at which European nations have purchased President Wilson's support of their ambitious schemes. On the other hand, the American citizen is informed that opposition to the League is a "song of hate against President Wilson."

It has become difficult to discuss the Covenant of the League of Nations, as embodied in the Treaty of Peace, without incurring charges of partisanship from one side or the other. The whole question has become involved with the personality of the President and party strategy for the coming campaign.

This is the inevitable consequence of the way in which the Treaty has been drawn and the League of Nations promulgated. When the American Commissioners to Negotiate Peace were selected, they were chosen without consultation with the Senate. They were thus made the personal representatives of President Wilson. There is no Constitutional requirement that prevents the President from negotiating a treaty without consulting the Senate. The right of the Senate to deal with a treaty arises after the treaty

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has been negotiated. But this is more than a treaty in effect, if not in form. The Covenant of the League of Nations is, to use the President's own metaphor, tied to the terms of peace with so many threads that the Treaty cannot be dissected from the Covenant without destroying the whole vital structure. This Treaty with Germany has therefore been erected as a new instrument of government which is to function on some occasions on behalf, if not instead, of the sovereign Government of the United States. Thus it has happened that for America's part in the creation of a new world organization President Wilson has made himself responsible. He has denied to the legislative branch of the United States Government knowledge of the process of negotiating this Treaty. He has withheld the text of the Treaty even after it had been presented to the Germans. And he has deprecated discussion of it. He has chosen to act as America's sole representative in the drafting of the new international organization and to identify himself with its fortunes.

In pursuing this course he has, perhaps, acted within his technical Constitutional rights. Nevertheless the consequence is that those who support the Treaty find it difficult to do so without seeming to be partisan supporters of the President, while those who even criticise any of its features rest under the imputation of being actuated by partisan animosity.

Cannot we Americans rid ourselves of this mental bondage to the partisan spirit? Can we not discuss this momentous project on its merits? There is no hope for the success of the League of Nations if it is adopted on partisan or personal grounds. It can succeed only if it has behind it the power of an enlightened public opinion. If it has serious defects, they should be discovered and corrected before it is adopted. If it is on the whole a useful instrument for securing international justice, it is nevertheless only an instrument. The energy which will use it will be the human will; and if that is lacking, the instrument will be as useless as an engine without fuel. More important than any provision of the Covenant of the League of Nations is the measure of popular support behind it. Such support will come only when full and searching criticism is welcomed, heard, and answered.

The greatest disservice which supporters of the League can do to their own cause is to try to prevent criticism by denouncing the critics or to win support for the League by making it a partisan or personal issue. When a critic uses appeal to prejudice as a weapon against the League, he is strengthened, not weakened, by a counter-appeal to prejudice; he can be effectively answered only when it is shown that he is not attacking the League itself, but only its counterfeit.

No greater duty rests upon the American people to-day than to hear a full and free discussion of the Peace Treaty's merits and defects.

WHAT THE JUGOSLAVS WANT

IT is hard for Americans, accustomed to a country in which many people of diverse origin live together under common laws and a common liberty, to realize the bitterness of national feeling in parts of Europe. What Mr. Pasitch says in his interview with Mr. Mason, of The Outlook's staff, on another page is valuable, not because it states facts which need to be known, but because it serves to reveal the temper of mind with which those who are engaged in restoring peace must deal. No one can read that interview without realizing that the new Jugoslavic state is suspicious of practically all its neighbors.

There is historic reason for the hostility with which the Serbs look upon the Bulgars, and that reason has been reinforced by the experience of the last three years. As it is impossible for a Belgian to think of the Germans without recalling Louvain and Ypres and scores of desolated villages and hundreds of violated homes, so it is impossible for a Serb to think of the Bulgarians without recalling to mind similar heartless crimes.

Between the Croats and the Italians there is also historic reason for the existence of a spirit of suspicion, if not hostility. It is not necessary here to try to review the complicated events which have engendered this suspicion. It is enough, perhaps, to recall here the fact that it has been a policy of Hungary, which possessed Croatia, to develop this spirit of hostility between the Italians and the Croats within that province, and the fact that in the world war Croatian troops were among those of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which destroyed and devastated parts of northern Italy.

If it is natural for Americans to sympathize with the Serbian feeling toward the Bulgars, it would seem natural for similar reasons to sympathize with the Italian feeling toward the Croats. Serbians and Italians were alike partners with America in the fight against the band of robber nations of which Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria were members. But now the Serbians are going with the Croats. It is true that the Croats were a subject people in an enemy state; but they were not like the Czechs, likewise a subject people, but liberty-loving and willing to dare all and risk all for liberty. The Czechoslovaks while they were yet nominally a part of Austria-Hungary were open and vigorous allies of the free nations. That is not true of the Croats.

It is natural that the men who are forming, or trying to form, the new, scarcely nascent, state of Jugoslavia should speak of the Jugoslavs as if they were really all one people. They are not, and it is dangerous to ignore the fact that they are not. They may win unity, but they do not have it now. They must be helped to unity, doubtless, but they cannot be helped by a process of disregarding the fact that some of them were on the side of liberty and some, through ignorance or necessity perhaps, were on the side of the oppressors and the robbers.

There is an old and sometimes serviceable device which national leaders have used to create national unity. This is the practice of creating a common hostility. This is the method Bismarck used for uniting the German states. It was by providing for them common enemies to fight that he drew them together. In some cases political leaders have had no occasion to create a common hostility, for the enemy has done that himself. This was the case when the German King of Britain drove the British colonies of America together by a common oppression of them all. This was the case when Italian unity was fostered by Austria's tyranny. So, perhaps, the Jugoslav leaders may be thinking that they may promote unity between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes if they can put Bulgaria and Rumania and Italy all in the same category as hostile to the Jugoslavic state. If that is their plan, it is one to which America must not lend her aid.

Last January we pointed out the fact that the Declaration of Corfu, made in 1917, demanding the establishment of a Pan-Serbian kingdom under the Serbian dynasty, was imperialistic in spirit and effect. Mr. Pasitch, who was one of the signers and prime movers of that Declaration, now declares in his interview that the peoples who have been under the yoke of foreign domination "have conceived such a hatred for the policy of enslavement and despoilment of other people's land that they would never think of themselves adopting such an imperialistic policy." If this is so, and we hope that it is, the experience of the war has enforced a needed lesson. But all the lessons have not yet been learned; and one of those lessons is that peoples like those of Jugoslavia who desire to form a new national life must give evidence of their competence and responsibility before they have a right to claim the authority and power that no one grudges to nations that have proved for years that they are competent and responsible. And one way by which the Jugoslavs can commend themselves to America is by speaking of

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America's allies in some other tone than that of suspicion and hostility.

POPULAR FALLACIES

II — THAT "WORKINGMEN OUGHT NOT TO SHARE THE PROFITS, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT SHARE THE LOSSES"

WHAT are profits? What are losses? For all successful businesses in a civilized community two elements are essential: the man and the tool. To farm there must be a plowman and a plow; to make shoes there must be a cobbler and a cobbler's bench; to weave there must be Silas Marner and a loom. If the loom wears out, Silas Marner must remain idle; if Silas Marner wears out, the loom must remain idle. Therefore to continue his business he must receive from his industry enough to keep both him and his loom in good condition. If he is underfed and becomes sick, he cannot continue his business; nor can he continue if his loom wears out and he has not the money to repair it, or if the material is exhausted and he has no money to buy more. If he receives from his business just enough money to keep himself and family in good condition, and also to supply his loom with adequate material and keep the loom itself in good repair, his business is self-supporting. If he receives a little more than is necessary for this purpose and can put ten dollars in the savings bank at the end of the week, he is making a profit. If he receives less and has to draw money out of the savings bank in order to buy food for himself or material for his loom, he is carrying on his business at a loss, and when the savings bank money is gone the business must stop.

In the place of Silas Marner and his loom imagine in a village a factory employing five hundred workers. The problem is bigger and more complex, but is essentially the same: instead of the tool and the man there are tools and men. It is essential to the business that both the tools and the men be kept in good working condition. If the mill receipts are just sufficient to keep the mill and its machinery effective and the workers so well paid that they are satisfied and efficient, the work goes on and is self-supporting, but is not making profits. If the receipts are sufficient to keep both tools and men in good working condition, and also to pay dividends, there is profit for the stockholders. If the receipts are not sufficient and it is necessary to borrow money from the bank or levy assessments on the stockholders to be paid out of the future profits, there is a loss; and if this loss continues indefinitely, eventually the mill must stop its work.

What happens if Silas Marner finds that he is not earning as much money as he is spending? He proposes to his wife to reduce their living expenses. "We must economize somehow," he says. "Can't we cut down on the grocer's bill or the butcher's bill? If not, we shall have to take John out of school and set him to work." By one or the other of these plans he proposes to reduce the living wage he is paying to himself, because if he reduces his purchases for the material for his loom or his expenditures for necessary repairs he impairs the sources of his income. If he says to his wife, "I was going to paint the shop this fall, but I am afraid I shall have to let that go over," his wife, if she is a prudent economist, will reply: "Look out, Silas; if you leave it too long, you will have to put on two coats instead of one, and you will lose more than you will save."

The managers of the mill pursue the same policy if the receipts are not enough to keep the mill in good condition and also to pay the wages it has been paying. If it is paying no dividends, it is not run at a loss, it is simply running without a profit. But if it is running at a loss the managers say to themselves what Silas Marner says to his wife, "We must cut down living expenses." That means, "We must reduce wages."

The great proportion of strikes occur either because the business is prosperous and the workingmen think that they are not receiving a fair share of the profits and that the only way to get such a share is by demanding increased wages; or because the business is unprosperous and the managers can see no way to reduce the expenses except by reducing the wages. One of the worst strikes we have ever had in this country was the famous railway strike in 1894. The immediate cause of that strike was the action of the Pullman Company, which reduced the wages of its workingmen and neither reduced the dividends which it paid to its stockholders nor the salaries of its highly paid officials nor the rents which it collected from the cottages which it leased to its employees. In that case they levied all the loss on the workingmen.

In order to carry on any business the receipts from the business need not be enough to pay any profit to either the tool owners or the tool workers. But they must be enough to provide the life of both the tools and the men. If they are more than enough, the surplus is a profit; if they are less, the deficit is a loss. And a loss, if it continues, always means sooner or later—and generally sooner—a reduction in wages. The profit ought also to mean an increase in some form in the income of the tool workers as well as in the income of the tool owners.

That alone will not satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the tool workers. In most organized industries they want, and ought to have, some voice in the conduct of the business. But that is another question not here considered.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

A GENTLE CYNIC[1]

PROFESSOR Morris Jastrow has introduced to the public a new author and added to the Bible a new book.

The book of Ecclesiastes has long been a puzzle to commentators. It is a book of contradictions. Is it a poem or a philosophy? Is its voice that of cynicism or that of faith? Is its message the emptiness of life or the glory of life? It begins with "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." It ends with "Fear God and keep his commandments." Which conclusion does the author mean us to accept?

The notion that the book was written by Solomon has been abandoned by most modern scholars. Probably the opinion which of late years has been generally entertained is that of Dean Stanley, who compares it to Tennyson's poem of "The Two Voices." This theory of its interpretation was thus defined by Lyman Abbott in his Sunday evening lectures on the Bible given in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, in 1896:

> The book of Ecclesiastes, portraying the complicated experiences of life, is a dramatic monologue—conflicting voices speaking in it, but the conflicting voices that speak in a single man. The man is arguing to himself; he is weighing and measuring the phenomena of life over against one another. A philosopher would take these things in order. He would first consider the efficacy of wisdom; then pleasure; then ambition; and when he had finished, then he would draw his lesson therefrom as to the teaching of life. But the writer of Ecclesiastes is not a philosopher; he is a poet; and it is not by this method of ordered thinking we do our meditating. On the contrary, thoughts come tumultuously into our mind; they fight their battle out within our consciousness; they contend for the mastery—ambition, sensuality, wisdom, conscience. There are no parliamentary laws in the human soul and no one to keep order—first one voice speaks, and then another, shouting against one another and drowning one another. Thus the book of Ecclesiastes is purposely confused, deliberately and of intention confused, because it is the portrayal of the confused experiences of a soul divided against itself.

Professor Jastrow propounds a different theory; so far as we know, he is the first one to propound it. His theory is that a "gentle cynic" wrote the original book; that as it issued from his pen it

[1] A Gentle Cynic. Being a Translation of the Book of Koheleth, Commonly Known as Ecclesiastes, Stripped of Later Additions. Also Its Origin, Growth, and Interpretation. By Morris Jastrow, Jr., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and London.

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was by a Hebrew "Omar Khayyám;" that some orthodox critic—there may have been more than one—added to it comments, emendations, corrections, replies, and gave it to the world in its amended form; and that the proverbs which are scattered through the poem or essay were added by him or by other commentators from time to time to illustrate and enrich the thought of the book.

A remote analogy might perhaps be found in Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection," the reflections being suggested to him largely by select passages from Archbishop Leighton. Archbishop Leighton is now generally forgotten and "Aids to Reflection" finds its place in our libraries for the sake of Coleridge's comments. Somewhat similarly it is supposed that the original Ecclesiastes has been forgotten and it is to the comments of the orthodox editor that the book owes its place in our Bible. Professor Jastrow, with much painstaking and much literary skill, has eliminated from the Book of Ecclesiastes what he regards as the comments of the unknown editor or editors, and the result, given in his own translation, is a charming poem, a real addition to the world's satirical literature.

Supposing Professor Jastrow's theory to be correct, the anonymous author of the original Ecclesiastes is a genial as well as a gentle cynic; there is no self-conceit and no bitterness in his cynicism, and in his pessimism no despair. He stands apart from the world and laughs at it, but laughs quite good-naturedly, and the reader laughs with him. Like Bernard Shaw, he takes nothing seriously, not even himself.

Again and again he declares that life is but a "chasing after wind." This is a favorite figure with him; nine times he repeats it in his short poem. Professor Jastrow thus interprets it in a note: "Ambition is like chasing the wind, you can never catch it, and if you did it would be of no use." We are but children running after soap-bubbles; foolish boors trying to find the end of the rainbow for the pot of gold we have been told is buried there.

A single brief quotation will best give to our readers an idea of the spirit of the poem which Professor Jastrow has discovered in the Book of Ecclesiastes—or created out of it:

> He who loves silver will never have enough silver,
> and he who loves a big pile, will have no profit (of it)—
> surely this is vanity.
> With the increase of goods, its participants increase;
> and what advantage is it to its owner except to look at it?
> Sweet is the sleep of the laborer, whether he has eaten little or much,
> but the satiety of the rich does not permit him to sleep.
> A sore evil that I have seen under the sun, is riches hoarded by the owner,
> and when that fortune is lost through a bad venture, the son begotten by him has nothing.
> He cannot carry anything that he has acquired by his toil away with him.
> Surely this is a sore evil, that just as he came, so he goes. Therefore what profit is it to him that he toils for the wind and that he spends all his days in saving and in constant worry and sickness and distress?
> Therefore, it seems to me the thing that is good and proper is to eat, drink, and to have a good time with all one's toil under the sun during the span of life which God has allotted to one, for that is his portion. Every man to whom God has given riches and possessions and who has (also) the power to enjoy it and to take his portion and to be happy in his toil—this is a gift of God. For he should remember that life is short and that God approves of joy.

Professor Jastrow's Ecclesiastes is not inspiring, but neither is it depressing. It is not profound, but it is keen and caustic. And it leaves the reader a little in doubt whether the original author is satirizing life or satirizing the pleasure-seeker's view of life which he assumes for the purpose of poking fun at it.

We must leave the expert Hebrew scholar to deal with Professor Jastrow's theory. But we wish that he might be persuaded to print in a little booklet the Book of Ecclesiastes as he interprets it, and so put before the ordinary lay reader, this delightful satire, which in the present form will be accessible only to Biblical scholars.

BACH AT BETHLEHEM, 1919

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM FULLERTON L. WALDO

WHEN the Bach Choir sings under Dr. Wolle's flexuous fingers at Bethlehem, it is more than the making of music—it is the creation of an atmosphere.

Thoreau says it takes two to speak truth—one to speak and one to hear; and after laboring a whole year behind closed doors it is a final inspiration for the two hundred and forty-seven singers to be openly heard by an audience which devoutly follows—in many cases word by word and note by note—the corps of singers hurling their very souls after their voices into ethereal space beyond all architectural confines. The listeners are as necessary as the performers, and they listen for the music's sake and not for the lure of the renown of any individual musician. Dr. Wolle himself lays all the laurels he has gathered in the course of fourteen festivals at the feet of the Cantor of Eisenach—"*ad majorem gloriam Dei.*" How strange it seems that in Bach's own day he was badgered and hectored by a myopic school committee who hadn't the least idea of the ultimate leading of the celestial sounds which to them were only the ugly and hateful contraptions of the devil's maleficence!

Some people to-day are residuary legatees of the ears of that school committee, and they say that Bach is too much for them—or even that they cannot abide him. Each year Dr. Wolle makes converts of many who first endure and then embrace the alleged inhuman austerities of the music; which accounts for the fact that the convocation in Packer Church of Lehigh University this year hailed from eighteen States and overflowed the big church to the living green of the bird-haunted, forest-clad, sun-dappled academic acreage.

There were given on the first day (June 6) eight cantatas which do not require naming; the Mass in B Minor, according to custom, glorified the second and final day. The chorales interspersed among the cantatas made it clear how many fine professional voices there were in the audience—or congregation, as one pleases. It is a great relief—a safety-valve to pent-up emotions—to rise and sing one's head off and one's heart out with the rest. The whole assemblage takes the contagion from the wonderful ascendency of Dr. Wolle over the Choir, and here the shining ideal of community singing is realized. The leader gives himself utterly to the singers and the singing, and so unsparing is he of his nervous vitality that he must perceive that virtue has gone out of him with every measure he surcharges with his electrodynamic personality.

With the very first notes of his peculiarly long-drawn version of "The Star-Spangled Banner" Dr. Wolle tied himself in bowknots, and from that moment he was "all over the shop" till the last protracted "Amen" of "Dona Nobis Pacem" was sounded. Said one of the veteran basses: "With that crook of his little finger Dr. Wolle becomes a fisher of men and women; he seems to haul us by a kind of hypnosis after him."

With the full orchestral apparatus plus the organ in the background, one becomes conscious principally of a single overwhelming polyphonic cataract, to which the several currents of the eight divisions of the voices contribute in due measure.

The greatest "solo opportunity," to use the unblest phrase, is in the ineffably exquisite and touching "Agnus Dei," and Merle Alcock this year sang it—as a

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hearer remarked—with the enamored care and the perceptive feeling one finds in the work of the best of the Florentine painters. The sole inartistic thing Dr. Wolle allowed himself to do came with the "Amen" after the "Dona Nobis Pacem." To show that his singers after all the racking exactions of two days were not exhausted he let them display their extraordinary breath-control by making this final "Amen" a dozen times as long as Bach wrote it to be, tapering the sound down to the tiniest *pianissimo*, and then letting it outwell again just as one supposed it was to die away altogether. It was amazing, it was enlivening, but it was unlawful. It was what the schoolboy calls a "stunt" pure and simple.

To other choruses the lesson of the Bach Choir is that an agglomeration of good singers does not make an effectual singing unit without downright year-round labor that spurns the thought of union hours and does all for love. Dr. Wolle does not have extraordinary material at his command. Many of his singers have been at work with the Bethlehem Steel Company making the guns and the shells which the still, small voice of their own music at last cries down and brings to discomfiture. There is a text for the moralist in this salient anomaly.

If these singers were heralded artists, competing for repute, they would be noted and praised, no doubt, but they would not have reached the high pinnacle of prestige whereon to-day their Choir stands. The cathedrals of old were reared by humble folk who built their own aspirations, their own hungering dreams of the Infinite, into the work of their finite hands; and that work lives after them.

BOLSHEVISM TESTING CANADIAN COMMON SENSE

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM CANADA

SINCE the middle of May Canada has had a long series of labor troubles which have resulted in considerable disturbance of business conditions and inconvenience to a large proportion of her citizens. For a time there was a threat of serious trouble of a nature not usually associated with strikes, but happily the worst fears were not realized.

In Canada, as elsewhere, labor is of opinion that increases in wages have not kept pace with the rapidly increasing costs of living. There has been much unrest in Canada, as elsewhere. The general discontent made easy the task of a few dangerous and ambitious agitators whose scarcely concealed ambition was to raise the red flag of revolution. The recent labor disturbances which have troubled the life of the Dominion were not ordinary strikes. They were poorly planned and clumsily executed attempts to set up Bolshevist governments in several communities. Apparently a soviet government was actually, if not nominally, in control of Winnipeg, the principal city of the western provinces, for a period of about two weeks. True, the red flag did not float over the City Hall, as was reported at the time in outside papers; but for two weeks such places of business as remained open and the few public utilities that were permitted to serve the public were for the most part allowed to operate only by the express leave of the strike leaders. Even the mail service was paralyzed. Telegraph communication with the outside world was shut off. The newspapers were not permitted to be published. The police were under the control of the strike committee. The firemen were on strike, and the only fire protection to be had was afforded by an energetic band of citizen volunteers working under the handicap of the dangerously low water pressure permitted by the strike leaders.

Early in the year, at a big labor convention in Calgary, definite plans for the organization of Canadian labor in "One Big Union" were presented by the extremists among Canadian labor leaders and adopted in spite of considerable opposition. In the weeks that followed the idea was adopted by many of the labor unions, although it meant severing connections with the international organizations of which Canadian trade unions have long been members. The saner elements in Canadian labor, conspicuous among which were the railway brotherhoods and the typographical unions, held aloof; but the movement spread rapidly nevertheless.

Trouble started in Winnipeg, where the "One Big Union" leaders, through a committee, made demands on behalf of the metal workers. The employers were prepared to recognize the regularly constituted unions, but they refused to negotiate with this new committee; whereupon a general strike was ordered by the "One Big Union" leaders, and the life of the city was paralyzed for a time. When it became apparent that the battle was going against them, the leaders sent out a call—by messenger, for there were no mails, telegraphs, or telephones—for sympathetic general strikes in other cities. The avowed object was to tie up every Canadian city from Halifax to Vancouver. The response was disappointing to the strike leaders. General strikes were called in several cities in which there were no local causes of dispute, but the strike orders were not always obeyed, and because of general public reprobation most of these sympathetic demonstrations were short-lived. It was only by deliberate misrepresentation of the issue at stake that the leaders were able to control their following in Winnipeg or to win any considerable support in other cities. The principle of collective bargaining was never in dispute; the actual quarrel was over the recognition of the "One Big Union."

The plans of the leaders were told in the "Western Labor News," which was the only paper permitted to be published in the early days of the strike in Winnipeg. It foretold a general and Dominion-wide strike which would include the postal service and the railways. "Should that be necessary," said this organ of the strike committee, "it will have results that at present are beyond contemplation. The federal Government would have proved its incompetence, and would have to go in a hurry. The present industrial system would also be given its first effective blow. Its end would, because of this, be materially hastened. The financial system would also come in for serious thought, and in the ramifications of the Dominion-wide strike the serious financial condition of the nation would look bare and inadequate also, and its end would be hastened."

This could mean only an attack on the present system of government and the overthrow of the industrial and financial systems of the country, to be replaced, presumably, by a Bolshevist Utopia. The head of the strike organization declared that in a short time there would be no need to use the weapon of the strike. "We shall not need to strike," he said, "when we own and control industry—and we won't relinquish the fight until we do control. This is not revolution. The workers are docile, but the workers realize their importance, and they see no reason why they should not own and enjoy, since they produce all."

The stubborn resistance of the citizens of Winnipeg, fortified by the firm attitude of the Dominion Government toward the striking postal employees, broke the strike where it began; and, once broken in Winnipeg, the movement soon died out elsewhere. A committee of one thousand Winnipeg citizens undertook the operation of the more essential of the public utilities. The Government announced that striking postal employees would be discharged if they did not return to work immediately. Various corporations made similar announcements, and thousands of trade-union men who found that they had been deceived by their new leaders returned to their work. The strike leaders were broken and discredited. Canada is not Russia; Canada will not tolerate Bolshevism. Canadian trade-union men will not tolerate Bolshevism, but thousands were misled for a time by the appeals of the men who were trying to work revolution.

To the credit of the strikers in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities be it said that, although passions ran high and defeat was bitter, there were few riots of any magnitude and little actual damage was done to property. If the extremists had

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planned anything of this sort, they were overruled by the sober sense of the great majority, who have always had respect for law and order. The truth is that the great majority of the strikers had dropped their tools against their own better judgment. As often happens, the inarticulate majority were overruled and bullied by a noisy and headstrong minority. The issue had been misrepresented. Thousands of law-abiding, loyal, and respectable citizens who have never been led astray by the Bolshevist doctrines of the leaders of the "One Big Union" went on strike believing that they were fighting for the principle of collective bargaining, which is dear to the hearts of all trade-union men. Later they found that this was not the issue, and they were then in an awkward situation. They had been loyal to their leaders, and those leaders had betrayed them. They began then to seek for the easiest way out of their difficulties, the way that would involve the slightest loss of their self-respect.

In other times it would not have been so easy for leaders of the sort who ruled the situation in Winnipeg to gain the confidence of Canadian labor. It was the prevailing discontent over hard conditions of living in this era of abnormal costs of all the necessaries of life that enabled a visionary and dangerous minority to work its will with a majority that in ordinary times could not easily have been influenced to disregard its contracts and agreements.

The Hon. G. H. Robertson, Canadian Minister of Labor, is himself a labor leader who has long been prominent in labor circles in the Dominion. Quite naturally his sympathies are with labor in all its worthy attempts to better its conditions. There was considerable criticism from employers when he was selected as Labor Minister. When the trouble commenced in Winnipeg, he hurried to the scene to attempt to secure arbitration. Strong labor leader that he is, he soon came to the conclusion that arbitration was impossible. Any compromise would be a compromise with Bolshevism. On the point at issue there could be no surrender, no compromise, unless the whole financial, industrial, and economic system of Canada were to be changed. He made no attempt, therefore, to secure arbitration. His whole effort was to persuade labor that it had misunderstood the issue. In that attempt he met with a large measure of success.

Before leaving for Ottawa, at a time when the result of the strike was no longer in doubt, he gave an interview to the "Manitoba Free Press," which in the interval had been able to resume publication.

"The promoters of the Winnipeg strike," he said, "now sit in the ashes of their folly. Labor leaders who advocate that only might is right, who hold that law, justice, and honor should be discarded at will, merit and receive the condemnation of all good citizens.

"Sympathetic strikes must always fail. Socialism has chosen the 'One Big Union' idea as a popular primrose path along which to lead the trade-unionist, urging him to discard his honorable obligations and join the big show.

"The Winnipeg strike is the first rehearsal of the play written at Calgary. The Winnipeg rehearsal has cost approximately two million dollars in wages lost in western Canada alone, and has proved the play to have been badly written and unpopular with both the public and most of the performers."

Undoubtedly this striking evidence of public unrest must lead to a serious examination of the economic conditions that made such disturbance in law-abiding communities possible. Two months ago the Canadian Government appointed a commission to investigate the possibilities of an industrial system under which labor would be represented on the boards of big employing corporations and share in the annual profits. That commission is to report some time this month, and legislation of some sort is promised for this session in case the recommendations are favorable. The result may be interesting.

FRANK MAITLAND.

Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, June 4, 1919.

WHAT THE JUGOSLAVS WANT

BY NICHOLAS PASITCH

FIRST DELEGATE TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES

AN AUTHORIZED INTERVIEW WITH GREGORY MASON, OF THE OUTLOOK STAFF

WILL the Balkans, which have provided the sparks for most of the wars Europe has had in the past half-century, produce a *casus belli* in the issues between the Jugoslavs and the Italians which have arisen on the very eve of the settlement of the great war between Germany and the Allies?

Before this can be published some arrangement may have been concluded between the Italians and the Jugoslavs; but will that arrangement be permanently satisfactory to both sides?

The Teutons, who dragged the whole world into war by refusing to arbitrate their quarrel with the Slavs in the Balkans, are openly exulting over the Balkan controversy which has broken out between Slavs and Latins. The sagest observers of politics in the chancelleries of Allied states are frank in declaring there can be no secure peace in Europe until the dispute affecting Fiume and Dalmatia is settled to the satisfaction of both parties to the dispute. As I write this such a settlement seems about as hopeless of attainment as a settlement between France and Germany which would please both of them. It would seem that there must be developed a willingness to compromise in the hearts of both parties to this controversy before the Peace Conference can adjourn with a fair prospect of a stable peace for Europe. Whatever may be the position of the Italians, the Jugoslavs are preserving a commendable composure, to judge by the attitude of their delegates in Paris. I recently went to see Mr. Nicholas Pasitch, First Delegate of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to the Peace Conference. Mr. Pasitch is a handsome old man with fine big eyes, straight nose, and full beard. He looks like a very distinguished Santa Claus. The interview was arranged by Professor Pavle Popovitch, of the University of Belgrade, and the head of the Press Department of the Jugoslavic Delegation to the Conference. Mr. Bogumil Vosnjak, the General Secretary of the Delegation, acted as interpreter.

"Above all, I want to emphasize," said Mr. Pasitch, "the fact that we do not consider the Italians our enemies. We want always to preserve good relations with Italy and to remain a friendly neighbor of hers. Even if ever it should come to a war, you can be sure that in no case would it ever be we who would provoke it, and that we shall always do everything possible to prevent that possibility and to avoid everything which might result in placing on us any responsibility for such an event.

"Such a war would benefit only our common enemies; a reasonable policy ought to commend itself to the two nations in order to avoid a war, and indeed to suppress anything tending even to weaken the friendship between the two peoples.

"Germany sowed distrust among us in the Balkans," continued the distinguished first delegate of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, "as well as distrust between Europe and us, and this all with the single aim of justifying her animosity toward us and her rigorous measures to keep us in a state of servitude. Now, sir, every people has the right to defend its liberty and its national development. The peoples who have had to support the yoke of foreign domination have conceived such a hatred for the policy of enslavement and despoilment of other people's land that they would never themselves think of adopting such an imperialistic policy. We are a peaceful people, we have never enslaved foreign tribes or nationalities.

"All that the Jugoslavs want is to

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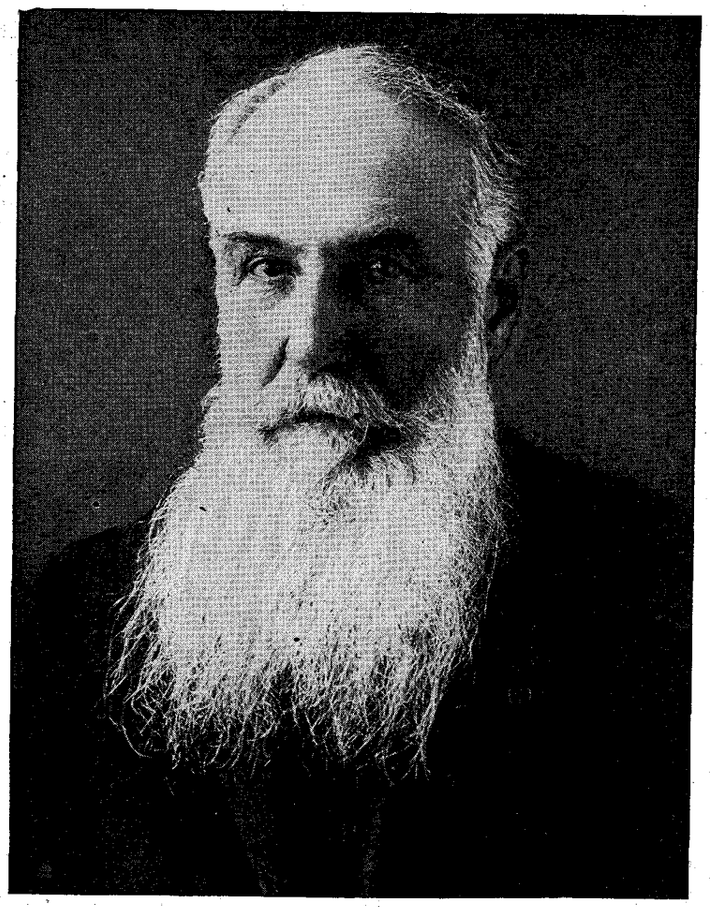

NICHOLAS PASITCH

GREGORY MASON

unite, to be free, and to consecrate all their intellectual and material forces solely to their development and their progress. Thus you see that even at present they are asking only for what belongs to them; they demand only the realization of the very principles which you have proclaimed, you Americans, as a base for international life in the future."

Mr. Pasitch swept some papers off his desk with a broad sweep of the right hand and sat more erect in his chair. "Of course you are familiar with the issues between us and Italy," said he; "but let me give you a reiteration of our position. We Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes demand only this—that the settlement of this question be made on national lines. As far as the port of Fiume is concerned, the Italian claim is specious if you are ignorant, but that is all that can be said for it. Fiume belongs to us by every standard—by the ethnographic standard, the historic standard, and by the economic standard.

"The Italianization of Fiume is very recent. Personally I can remember when Fiume was overwhelmingly Slavic. The introduction of the Italians was promoted by the Magyars as a political maneuver against the Croats.

"To-day the Italians are claiming that they have thirty-three thousand of their people in Fiume as against less than eleven thousand Jugoslavs. I don't know where they find any justification for such figures. The official Austro-Hungarian statistics for 1910 report 24,212 Italians and 15,687 Jugoslavs. But even those figures are misleading. They were compiled and published by the municipal authorities of Fiume, who were either Magyars or Italians, with every reason to make Slavic strength in their city appear as slight as possible. But there are still two important points to be remembered. First, included in that 24,212 are *Italianisanti* or Italianized Slavs. In the second place, both the Italian and Magyar statisticians count the population of Fiume as if Susak were not properly included. Now Susak, which is divided from so-called Fiume by only a narrow canal, is as much a part of real Fiume as the city just north of the Harlem River is a part of real New York. In Susak there are 11,706 Jugoslavs as against 658 Italians. Therefore in greater Fiume there are altogether 27,393 Jugoslavs as against 24,870 Italians.

"For economic reasons it is a matter almost of life and death for us to have Fiume. With its fine rail connections this port serves the very heart and, indeed, the whole interior of our country. Look at the other ports which might be available to us. Ragusa (Dubrovnik) is linked with the interior only by a narrow-gauge railway. Ogulin-Knin has no connection with our capital. It is true that Spalato (Split) is a good harbor which may be connected with Belgrade. But even if that railway is built, it will be a tremendously expensive task and one which cannot be accomplished for a long time.

"In short, Fiume is indispensable to us. It is not indispensable to Italy. If our trade had to pass through an Italian Fiume, Italy would hold our whole commerce in her hands. She could blockade us when she pleased. For us that would be a situation not to be borne. We rest our claim to Fiume, however, not on questions of expediency but on questions of principle. By the fundamental principle of the self-determination of peoples, Fiume belongs to the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

"Even now, in our conflict with Italy, we are asking for arbitration, we are putting the solution up to the judgment of your just and eminent President, but our adversaries will not accept the judgment of just men. We are asking that the people themselves be allowed to decide by a plebiscite what they want and to whom they wish to unite themselves. The Italians will not accept even that. Or, rather, they are ready to accept the suggestion that Fiume shall decide her own fate by a plebiscite, but they refuse their right of this same plebiscite to the villages in the immediate proximity of Fiume.

"An issue is thus raised between the principles proclaimed already, in the name of which this war has been conducted against violence and imperialism, and secret treaties based on the law of conquest.

"The conflict must be decided between two parties, of which one defends justice and the liberty of all peoples, and of which the other is actuated by secret treaties, by the ideas and tendencies of outworn imperialism. Jugoslavia, formed

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in accordance with modern political ideas, has entered this fight. Now the struggle is on no longer between us, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and Italy, but between the ancient world and the modern world, between the force of imperialism and discredited secret treaties on the one hand, and liberty and the law of nations on the other. Crude force and Teutonic imperialism have been conquered; we have commenced the creation of a durable peace on the basis of right and liberty."

I asked his Excellency about the possibilities of a compromise by which the Jugoslavs, in exchange for Fiume, would give up a good deal of Dalmatia.

"That," said he, "would be like asking a father to sacrifice the lives of six sons in order to save the seventh. Our right to Dalmatia is even more unmistakable than our right to Fiume. If you mark the Slavic population of Dalmatia in white and indicate on the map in black the spots where there are Italian majorities, you will find the map of Dalmatia is an expanse of white with a few fly specks along the coast. By the official census of 1910 there were in Dalmatia 610,669 Serbo-Croats and 18,028 Italians. Here, as in Fiume, some of the people counted as Italians are merely Italianized Slavs. Yet, including these, not more than three per cent of the people of Dalmatia are speaking Italian. If the friends of Italy have any doubt about our claim as to what constitutes justice for Dalmatia and Fiume, let them call for a plebiscite. Let the inhabitants of those regions themselves decide their fate. But there's the difficulty; you cannot get any Italian to consent to such a test.

"No enemy of Italy," continued Mr. Pasitch, "could devise a better way to do her serious injury than to give her what she is now asking for. We Jugoslavs who have fought shoulder to shoulder with the brave Italians count ourselves their friends. Are the Italian people so blind as not to see that in its claim for territory on the east coast of the Adriatic, as in its claims to the Greek-inhabited islands of the Dodecanese, the Italian Government is moved by the baldest imperialism? Give Italy what the Italian Government is asking for, and you give the Italians the enmity of twenty million Slavs and Greeks who would like to be their friends."

"Speaking of the Greeks, another Balkan people, your Excellency, what is your opinion of the desirability and practicability of a union of the Balkan States?" I asked.

"It is out of the question for us to consider any union with Bulgaria now," the distinguished Serb replied, emphatically. "Bulgaria has carved into our country wounds that years will not heal. But, what is more, Bulgaria's treacherous action in siding with the Central Powers in the late war is not the first instance of a fundamental aptitude for treachery and deceit in Bulgarian character.

"By the way," he asked, with a twinkle in his eye, "wasn't there some admiration for Bulgaria in America before the war?"

"I used to hear some Americans speak rather admiringly of the Bulgarians as 'the Prussians of the Balkans,'" I replied, with a laugh; "but I don't believe that comparison nor any other form of laudation for Bulgaria is in the mouths of Americans now."

"I should think not," said Mr. Pasitch, laughing also; "the world has had enough of Prussianism; and as for the Bulgarians, they are, if anything, more cruel and less efficient than the Prussians of Prussia. It is very important to us to be adequately protected against any future aggression from Bulgaria. Some rectification of frontiers is absolutely necessary. Look on the map and see how close to the Bulgarian frontier in places runs the railway from Belgrade to Salonika. In 1914 Bulgars swarmed across their border and raided that line many, many times. We Serbians are asking that the frontier shall be pushed back farther from that railway line. We are also asking, for the same reasons, that a tiny bit of territory all along the Serbian-Bulgarian frontier should be given to us, a territory comprising Vidin, Custendil, Petrich. And in claiming this we are in accord with the principle of nationality, because this territory is not inhabited by Bulgars but by so-called 'Shopes,' who are more like Serbians than like Bulgars. You have seen by a recent telegram published in several French newspapers that the inhabitants of that territory, especially those of Vidin, are in revolt against the Bulgarian Government, and are anxious—as they say themselves—to be included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes."

"But, leaving the Bulgarians out of the question," I suggested, "what do you think of the desirability of a union among the other states of the Balkans?"

"I am heartily in favor of it," was the reply. "A union to include Greece, Rumania, and perhaps the Czechoslovaks, besides my own people, would have many advantages for all. First, however, it is to be hoped that certain questions between the Serbs and the Rumanians will be satisfactorily settled. One might have supposed that this Peace Conference was called merely to make peace between the Allies and the Teutonic Powers. The Rumanians, however, have proceeded on the assumption that the Peace Conference was ready and able to settle every political question in Europe. And they have dragged up an issue between them and us. This concerns the future of the country called the Banat. The eastern frontier of the Banat runs between Serbia and Rumania. The northern frontier runs between Serbia and Hungary. The Rumanians are claiming the whole Banat. We claim that it ought to be divided between them and us, on the principle of the self-determination of peoples. The eastern part of the Banat, which is mountainous, has a majority of Rumanians, but the west, which is flat country, has a preponderance of Serbs. And where there are Rumanians living among the Serbs they are the descendants of those who were welcomed by the Slavic inhabitants when they came down from the mountains. In those days both Serbs and Rumanians feared the Hungarians. Thus those early Serbs never thought that in welcoming their Rumanian neighbors they were permitting the growth of a Rumanian claim which would some day be pressed against their descendants. If the Rumanians were given all the territory they are asking for, they would be immediate neighbors of our capital, Belgrade. They suggest that we move our capital. Rather unreasonable advice, don't you think?"

In response to a question about the position of Rumanians who are settled in Serbia proper, Mr. Pasitch said:

"There are not more than 120,000 of these people, although Rumanian publicists sometimes claim there are half a million. They are the descendants of Rumanians who were liberated from the Turks after fighting shoulder to shoulder with Serbs. They are quite satisfied to live in Serbia, for their economic position is much better than it would be in Rumania. Under us each man owns his piece of land; but in Rumania, as you know, there are so many vast estates owned by the aristocracy that great masses of the people are landless. For that very reason Serbia is much safer from Bolshevism than Rumania. As a matter of fact, I believe Bolshevism is impossible in Serbia. We have very little industry, being almost entirely an agricultural country, and we are a pure democracy. There are not more than ten men in Serbia who own more than a thousand hectares of land, and about five hectares to each peasant is the average."

I asked Mr. Pasitch for his opinion as to the future of Bolshevism in the world as a whole. He replied without hesitation:

"I believe Bolshevism everywhere is on the wane. I believe that even in Russia and Germany it is losing power. The reason I believe the world has little more to fear from Bolshevism is that I think the world has at last realized that Bolshevism, for all its extravagances, is fundamentally a protest against institutions and conditions which ought to be changed. The world has no more room for imperialistic Kaisers and Czars. In most parts of the civilized world people have reached a state of development where there is no longer any excuse for denying them the right to govern themselves. And this right is applicable in industry and agriculture as well as in politics. We Serbians are right in not tolerating the existence of a great landed aristocracy. You Americans are right in contending that such gigantic industrial combinations as you have in your country ought to be subject to some kind of regulation by your Government."

Is there not a good deal of truth in that remark of Mr. Pasitch, with which he closed the interview? Is it not true that "Bolshevism, for all its extravagances, is fundamentally a protest against

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institutions and conditions which ought to be changed"? Is there no significance in the fact that the two countries which have suffered most from Bolshevism, Russia and Germany, are the two countries where there was formerly the highest degree of political tyranny? If this be so, then while Americans preserve their intelligence and the spirit of social justice in which their country was founded they need never fear Bolshevism.

Paris, May 15, 1919.

IMPRESSIONS OF A MODERN LEGISLATURE

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

Combining theory and practice in government, Mr. Davenport has both conducted college courses in political science and served in public office. He is Professor of Law and Civil Polity in Hamilton College and is a Republican Senator in the New York Legislature. In The Outlook for June 4 there was an article by him under the title "Vested Stupidity in Property and Politics," indicating the political significance of the human welfare measures which were introduced into the Legislature, but rejected.—THE EDITORS.

I SERVED first in the State Senate at Albany in the old Hughes days, now some ten years gone. There were then strong men in the leadership of the Legislature, who, whatever their defects, sought to protect in the public eye the dignity and prestige of the body over which they ruled. In the Senate there were two powerful Democratic leaders and two powerful Republican leaders. It was the day of frequent bipartisan understandings. On important matters these four were the whole works. The Tammany of that day was open, crude, and human; cold and relentless only when the Tammany interest or the interest of the particular friends of Tammany was intimately involved. The Republican leadership was able, astute, much less human, and much more consistently selfish. Important property interests had particular friends, and now and then a lightning flash of investigation disclosed ramifications of predatory privilege. But it was controlled and dignified and never obtruded too much upon the landscape. In fact, the old system of thoroughly intrenched property interest government was already well on the way to decline.

The old system of the well-organized intervention of the property interest in legislative affairs grew up partly as a by-product of the protection of the property interest against legislative "strikers" of the meaner sort who introduced bills dangerous to business progress and threatened to press them to passage. As a strong and unified party organization developed, business found that it could handle its legislative difficulties and desires most effectively through the man at the top. Under Platt capitalism was frankly in the saddle, and it was capitalist government which had long offended public opinion in the State of New York and was on the wane when Hughes took up his so-called fight with the bosses. The theory, somewhat imperfect and impractical as it turned out, was that the bosses represented the insurance companies, the race-track gamblers, and were responsible for the "isles of privilege" which Hughes once referred to as rocky dangers in the current of legislation. The theory was that the influences behind the bosses would not let go until the boss was compelled to let go.

The great Hughes battle for the popularizing of politics and the freeing of it from its predatory entanglements was not in a formal sense successful, although in a larger sense it was; and the Governor retired to the cloister of the Supreme Court in Washington, relieved of what seemed to have become an intolerable burden of friction and opposition. In a genuine and just sense no truer friend of the property interest ever sat in the Governor's chair than Hughes; but the property interest, which has so much at stake when government is bad, for the most part followed the line of least resistance, did little to help Hughes, and stood idly by while the existing system baited him to something approaching despair.

The fight against Hughes, and later against Roosevelt, who, as a private citizen, at Hughes's request, took up the battle in the State upon substantially similar issues, aroused such popular resentment that the Republicans went out of power in New York and remained out for years. In fact, they are by no means altogether back yet. Pressed on by a popular revolution, a Tammany Legislature conferred the doubtful boon of an irresponsible sort of direct primary control upon the voters of the parties. The conservative influences of the State did not sufficiently support the Hughes direct primary plan, which in substance was far wiser than the one finally adopted, as it provided for responsible leadership as well as popular control over what is the most vital and important feature of government. The Hughes plan provided in substance for a State Convention of directly elected representatives to furnish a responsible unity and responsible suggestions of candidates to the party voters, who themselves then on primary day passed upon the suggestions, as well as upon any other suggestions about candidates made by unorganized petitioning groups.

The declining vigor of Republican politics in the last ten years is accounted for by the failure of the conservative interests to rise to the level of wisdom and vision which Roosevelt and Hughes offered the party, and which the ruling caste within the party incontinently spurned. The ruling mind behind the Republican organization in those days had real strength and much more potential capacity for statesmanship than has since been shown, but it was clouded by personal antipathies and rendered inflexible by hard and fast individualistic philosophy. The result of it all was that the most powerful stream of tendency within the State has been Democratic in the last ten years rather than Republican. And it has not been fortunate for the State. There has been a curious mixture of good and evil in political progress. The Dix and Sulzer administrations were depressing to the last degree, the one in its vapid weakness and the other in its demagogy and hypocrisy. Governor Glynn was an able and resourceful man handicapped by the circumstances in which he succeeded Sulzer in high office. There has been advance during these years, particularly in the development of what is, on the whole, a fine code of labor legislation. But while government has become more democratic, it has also become more demagogic, more emotionalized, more restricted to narrowing issues and a narrower leadership. The whole situation being uncontrolled by responsible political intelligence, the onrush during the last decade of the labor and woman influences into party politics is in danger of begetting a political tendency toward "giving the people what they want" at the moment, whether a wise measure of deliberation would mark it as good for them or not.

Returning to the Senate at Albany after an absence of nearly ten years, I have been impressed with some of the changes which the decade has brought. Tammany is chastened, and I think improved in its relation to the public welfare. The Whitman administration, with some outstanding virtues, but having lost a measure of public confidence as it sank to its setting, is replaced in the Executive Chamber by the best type of the modern Tammany product. Tammany seems to have sloughed off the taste for contractor's graft and similar political garbage which so defiled it in its State and municipal reputation only a few years ago. If you ask an intelligent Tammany man about it, he will tell you, "We mean to keep in power by giving the people what they want." Giving the people what they seem to want at the moment, without let or hindrance, without examination or discrimination, may easily pass into the renunciation of intelligent leadership, without which democracy cannot long survive.

In general the Senate at Albany, and I have no doubt the Assembly, is made up of earnest and conscientious men, but the responsible system of control is by no means as strong as it once was. I attribute

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A HEROINE OF THE WAR RECEIVES THE HONORS DUE TO A MARTYR—THE REINTERMENT OF EDITH CAVELL'S BODY IN ENGLAND

The picture shows the clergy leading the cortège as it passed through Erpingham Gate in Norwich, Miss Cavell's native town. The body was laid to rest in the Cathedral graveyard. Many thousands of persons paid their final tribute of reverence to the martyred nurse as the procession passed through London

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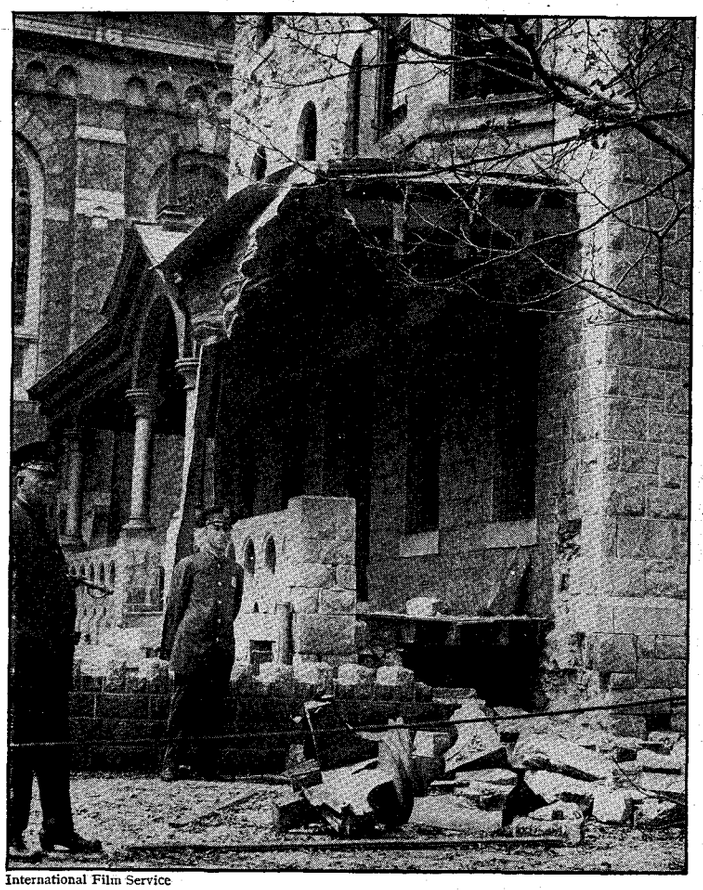
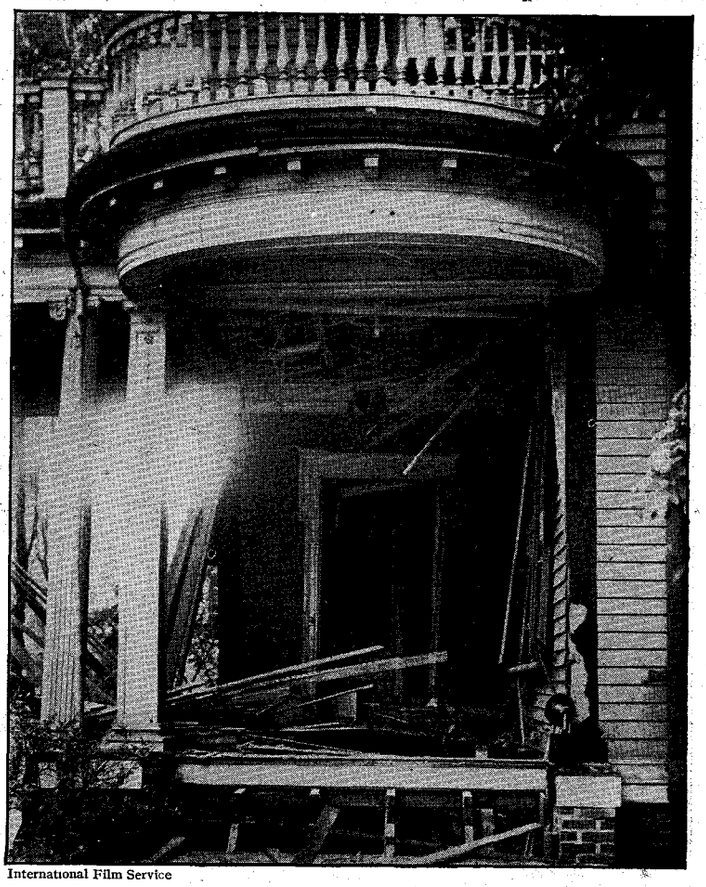


International Film Service

THE RESULTS OF THE EXPLOSION AT THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF VICTORY IN PHILADELPHIA

Bishop McCort, of the Catholic Church, says: "I think these are simply attacks on organized society and not on our churches in particular".



International Film Service

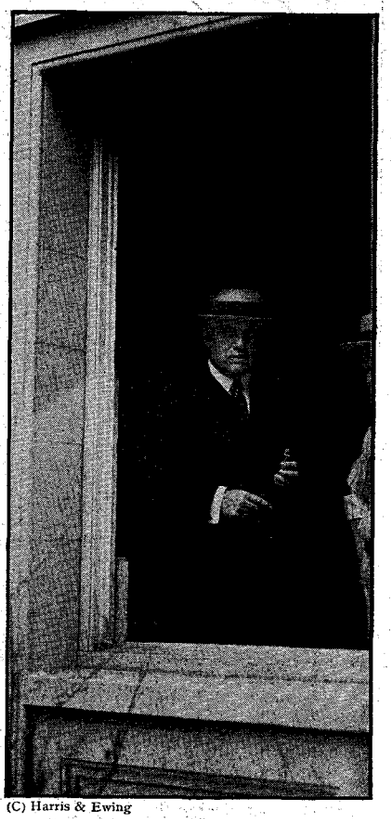
THE HOME OF JUDGE HAYDEN, IN ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, WRECKED BY A BOMB

Judge Hayden imposed sentences on May Day rioters in Roxbury, and his home seems to have been wrecked in revenge

(C) Press Illustrating Service

INSPECTOR EGAN, OFFICIAL EXAMINER OF INFERNAL MACHINES

Mr. Egan is attached to the Bureau of Combustibles of the Fire Department of New York City. In this capacity he is said to have examined thousands of bombs in the score of years during which he has been connected with the Department. A few of these infernal machines are seen at the right



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ATTORNEY-GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER

Mr. Palmer, whose house was dynamited, is seen standing at a window of his home the morning after the explosion

THE BOMB EXPLOSIONS OF JUNE 3—SOME OF THEIR EFFECTS AND TWO OF THE MEN WHO ARE TRYING TO BRING ANARCHISTS TO JUSTICE

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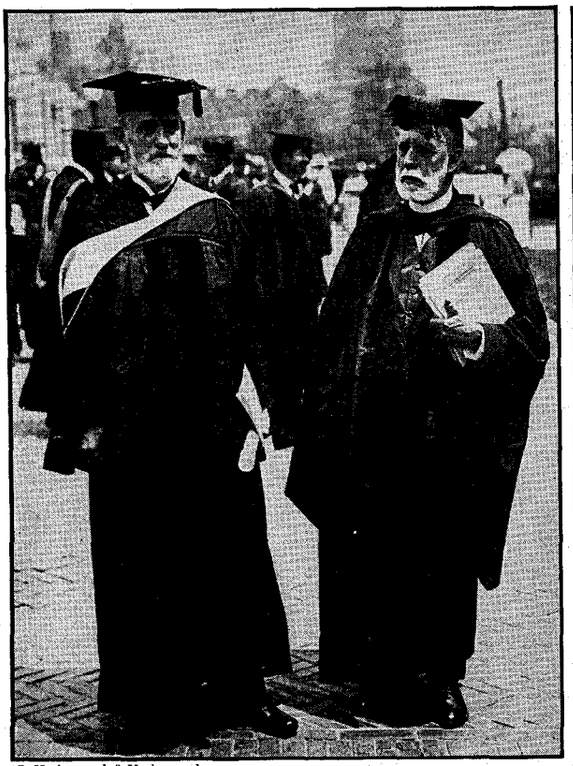

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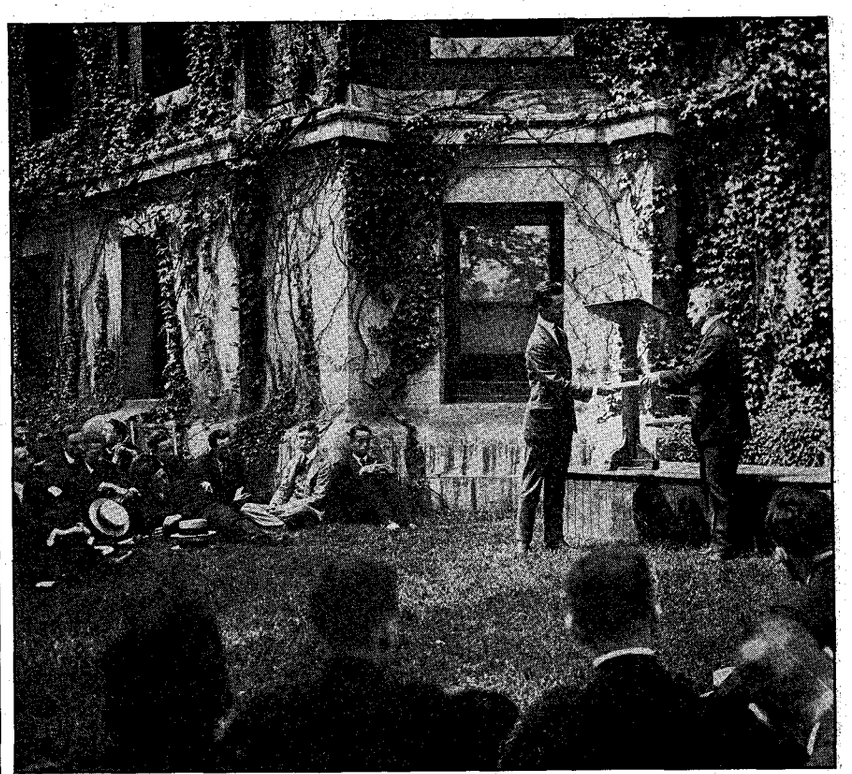
MAURICE F. EGAN, EX-MINISTER TO DENMARK, AND DR. W. H. CARPENTER, OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Dr. Egan received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters at Columbia's one hundred and sixty-fifth Commencement



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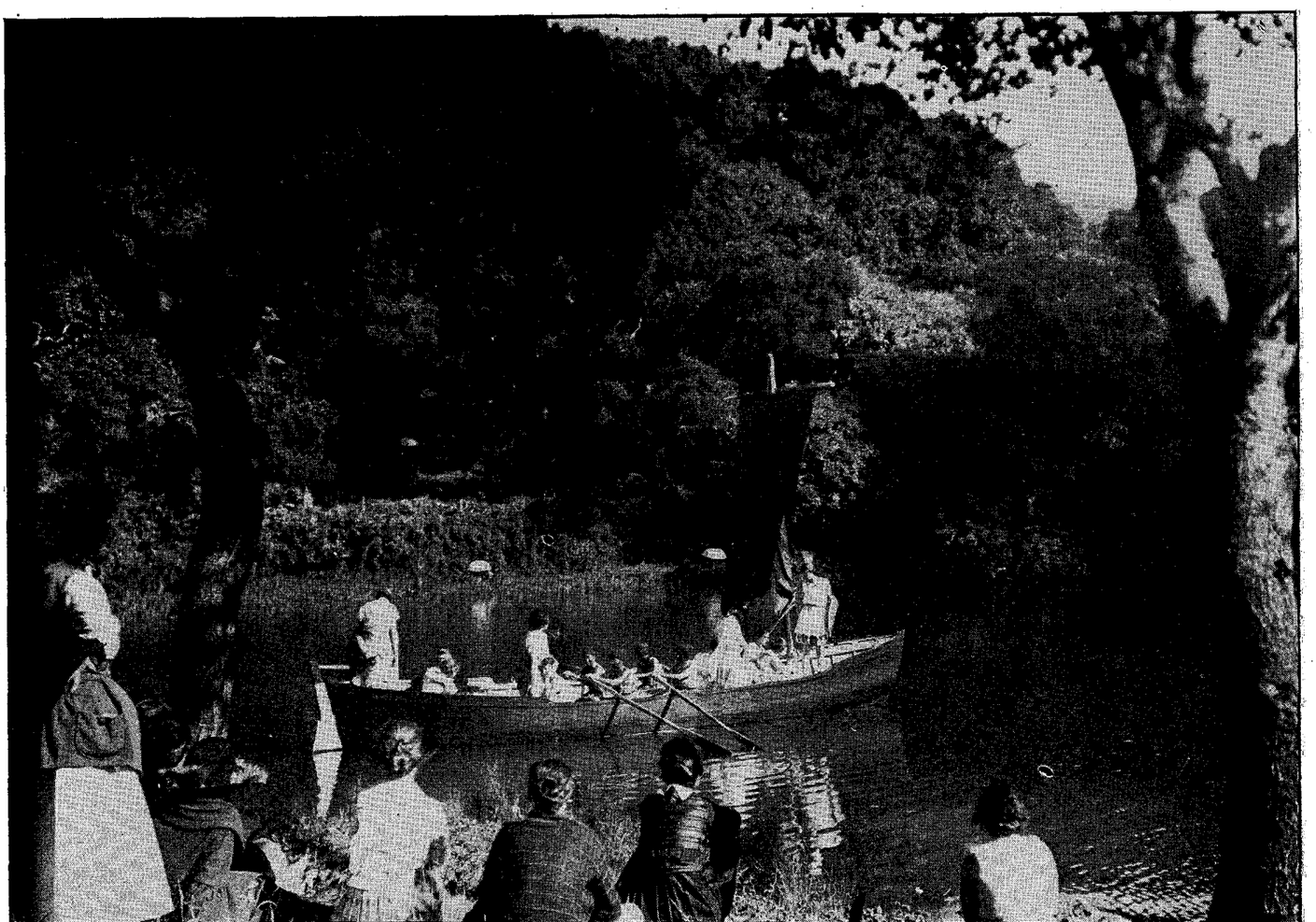
FREDERICK VALE RECEIVING THE ALUMNI PRIZE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY FROM DEAN HAWKES

Columbia gave diplomas to 1,925 students at this Commencement. Honorary degrees were conferred upon eight men, including Dr. Egan (see above, left), General Crowder, and Viscount Ishii



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CALIFORNIA COLLEGE GIRLS REPRODUCING SCENES OF ANCIENT GREECE

The picture shows students of Mills College, California, in a scene of "Ariadne of Crete," in which Ariadne, granddaughter of Helios, sets out to follow her lover, Theseus, who is to attempt to slay the Minotaur

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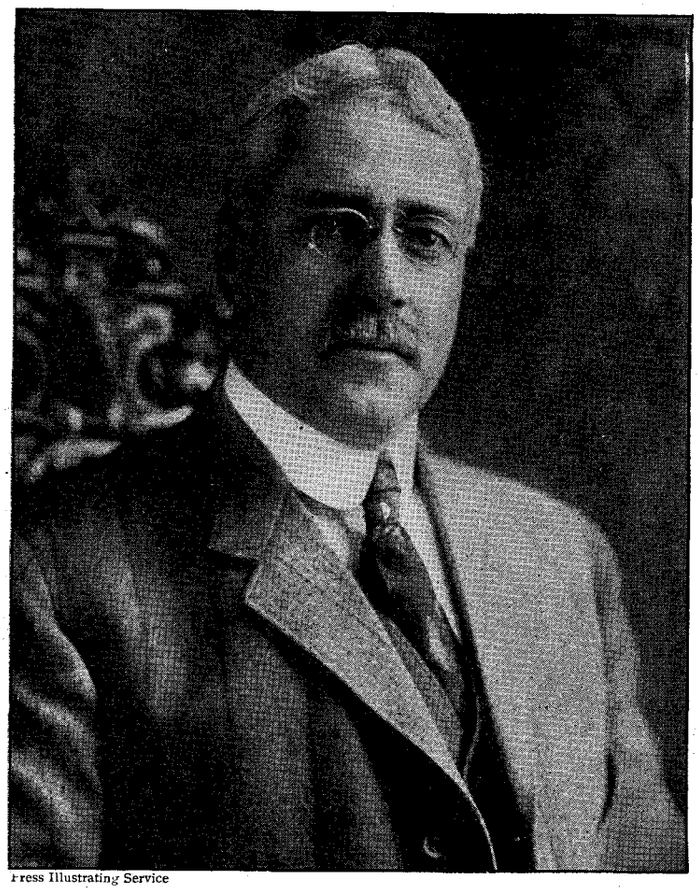
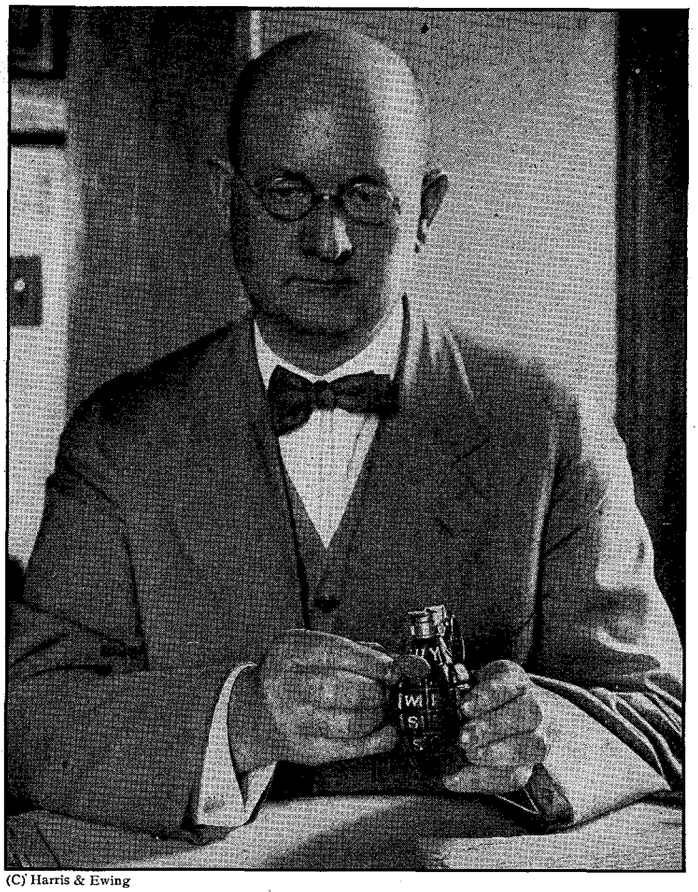


Press Illustrating Service

FRANK A. VANDERLIP, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

Mr. Vanderlip, whose recent addresses on public finance and industrial problems have attracted wide comment, has just resigned his presidency of one of the most important banks in the country. See editorial comment



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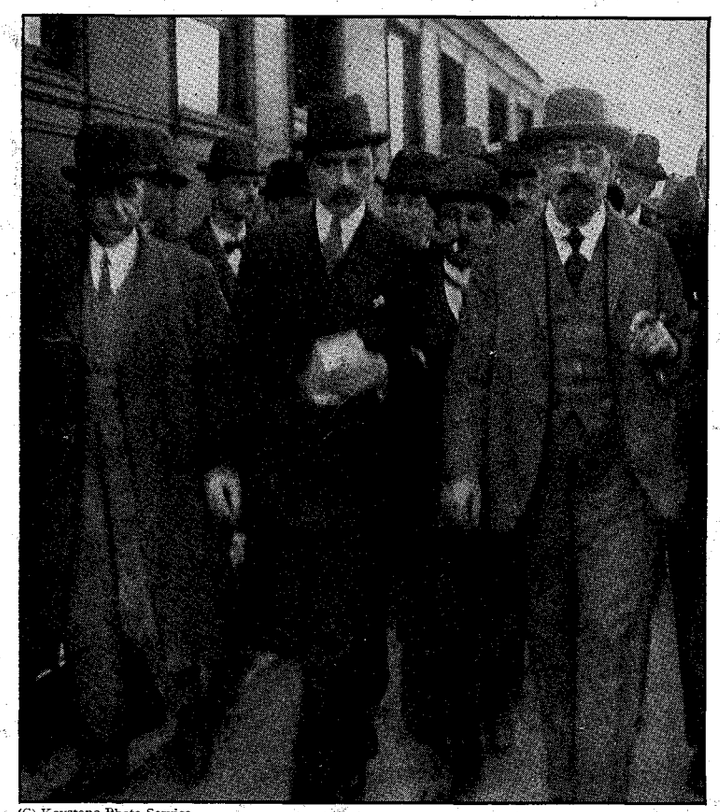
NATIONAL THRIFT DIRECTOR AND ONE OF HIS BANKS FOR CHILDREN

Dr. J. Stanley Brown, of Joliet, Ill., whose picture appears above, will, it is announced, distribute fifteen million of these hand grenade banks to children. These transformed implements of war will become powerful aids to peace



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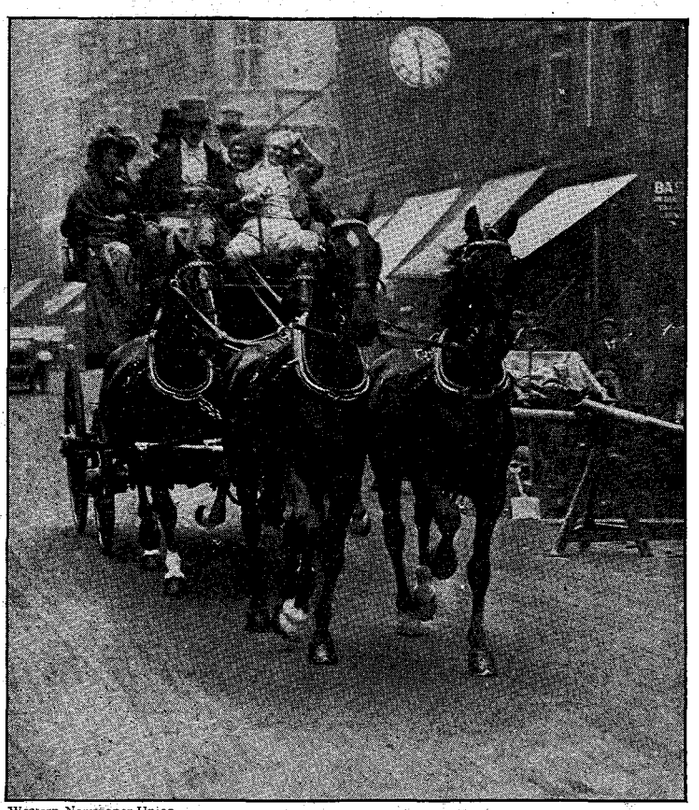
DR. KARL RENNER, CHIEF OF THE AUSTRIAN DELEGATION, ARRIVING AT ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE

Dr. Renner (at the right) made a favorable impression on the Peace Conference, it is said, by his conciliatory attitude at St. Germain, in contrast to the sullen demeanor of the German peace delegates at Versailles



Western Newspaper Union

THE PICKWICK STAGE-COACH DRIVING ALONG PICCADILLY IN LONDON

The members of the Pickwick Club, including Mr. Pickwick, Sam Weller, Mrs. Bardell, and others, may be seen on the coach as they appeared in a recent Dickens celebration in London

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it in part to the disintegrating effect of the wildcat form of direct primary, and in part to the continuing stupidity and short-sightedness of the outside business and property groups in the handling of their affairs at the Capitol. Other lobbying groups are not altogether blameless, but for the most part the others lack organized capacity to deflect legislation from its normal course. Responsible control being absent, the pressure of active lobbying seems to have greatly increased. In the rather independent-minded Senate it brought about toward the end of the last session a considerable measure of irritation, and outbursts of indignation against it were not uncommon.

I recall the impotent result of the attempt to pass a thoroughly good bill requiring certain feed manufacturers to print on the outside of the bag the ingredients of the feed sold to farmers. This powerful feed group were openly charged with having mixed oat hulls and the sweepings of elevator floors with molasses as a heavy and unnutritive ingredient. And I recall the only partially smothered protests of the chairman of the committee having the bill in charge against the skillful lobby which had befuddled the situation to the benefit of private profit.

The fiasco of the attempt of the traction group to achieve increase of fares through the futile maneuvers surrounding the urging of the Carson-Martin Bill upon the Legislature has already been described in these columns.

And the lobby for the so-called Water Company Bill, which on the surface seemed to be harmlessly drawn to put the water corporations under the control of the Public Service Commission, was roundly denounced in open Senate for its methods of pressure and also for its sinuous ways. "A crafty piece of bill drafting," said the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. "It does not look right and it is not right. Whoever was guiding this bill through these legislative halls intended to mislead. There is something bad back of this bill."

Another property group subtly fought the human welfare measures, like the Living Wage Bill and the Health Insurance Bill and the Eight-hour Bill for women, and aided powerfully in accomplishing the final defeat of these measures. After the bills had passed the Senate, this property group fell into something approaching panic, and on the morning of the day before the measures were to be taken up by the Republican conference in the Assembly—as a result of preconcerted organized action, foremen and officials in the mills and factories in strategic parts of the up-State country were sent quickly among the employees to secure, in some instances apparently through gross misrepresentation of its actual character, many thousands of signatures against one of these measures from the very people who would be most wholesomely benefited. And then by further preconcerted action the petitions were shipped *en masse* the same afternoon on the Empire State Express to Albany to be used as a means of influencing the minds of Republicans in the Assembly! This same property group vigorously opposed in subtle ways all these human welfare measures. I was interested especially in the health insurance measure, as it was intended to be for the benefit of the great body of workers and their dependents generally in the State, and I soon began to receive letters like the following, all of which came to me without the slightest personal solicitation:

> *Dear Senator:*
>
> Regarding the enclosed newspaper slip [telling about the petitions], I wish to state the following:
>
> As an employee in one of the knitting mills, I felt that it was unfair for all the workers to sign these petitions when they knew practically nothing about them.
>
> The workers almost as a whole did not understand this bill. . . .
>
> These petitions came from the office and were not put out by the factory workers. You can imagine who it is that is anxious not to have the bill passed.
>
> If the workers understood the benefits of the bill, I believe they would have never signed the petition. While I do not thoroughly understand the bill myself, from what I know of the bills you usually introduce, I believe you are honestly and faithfully representing the people. I felt like making a protest to the workers about signing the petition, but it might cost me my job, and I am taking a chance in writing this letter, so if you want to know anything else about the matter I can arrange to see you when you are in this vicinity.
>
> Furthermore, I am a discharged soldier, having returned recently from France, and I wish to uphold the democracy that we went over there to fight for. Therefore I could not refrain from writing you on this matter, as I believe it to be for the benefit of the working people. Sincerely,
>
> P. S. If you can send me a complete copy of your bill, I would be pleased to have it. Also if my name were known in connection with this letter, it might cost me my job.

Nothing could more clearly depict the subtle and powerful organized coercion of working-class opinion than this interesting letter.

As indicating the political advantage which is taken of these clever ruses, I quote now from the letter of a high Republican party official, which in substance was sent far and wide through the State:

> I regret that the minimum wage and health insurance bills did not meet the approval of the great majority of Republican Assemblymen. That does not mean that they are opposed to the forward movement, but that they did not think these particular measures were demanded by the working people at this time. They were strengthened in their position by a test vote of men and women mill workers, showing 13,200 opposed to health insurance, and 112 in favor.

All very clever—is it not?

This is only one example of the method of astute and organized opposition made use of to defeat for the time being adequate consideration of these measures. It is no doubt also true that the eager, opposing lobby on the humanitarian side, while animated by a far more unselfish spirit, may to a certain extent bewilder and distract the minds of members in a legislature who are anxious in the main to do what is right and wise. But a powerful "business" lobby, especially if it has at all a privileged entry to the centers of legislative influence, backed by skillful organization and wealth, can drive a coach and four through a legislative body, overburdened and distraught in trying to find within a hundred days of legislative life a solution to many intricate problems. Especially is this true if the party system itself is in process of disintegration. And there need be neither corruption nor illegality nor even technical impropriety from the standpoint of the existing rules about lobbying.

The system of lobbying in legislative halls in America ought to be sharply scrutinized and modified. The lobbyist ought to be put under strict rules, and in the event of a clearly substantial and deliberate misrepresentation made to a member of the Legislature or any committee, or in the event of the use of deceptive and disingenuous methods, should be subject to a penalty similar to the penalty of disbarment which a lawyer suffers when he misrepresents facts to the court. The modern lobbyist holds a more intimate relation to the course of legislation and to the ultimate effect of it than either the lawyer or the judge. The lobbyist is in a position to tamper effectively with law at its source. This particular fraternity have so conducted themselves in the past that their profession is regarded as a degradation and not a distinction. This is altogether sinister from the standpoint of the public interest. Instead of a lobbyist being a person to be pointed at in legislative corridors as an object of suspicion and derision, only honest and able minds from business and professional circles and other groups of parties in interest should be allowed to act in so important a capacity.

The effect of the present lobbying system upon legislative morale is debasing. I heard several excellent men in both houses express themselves towards the end of the session as eager to relinquish public office under such an environment. And the reputation of parliamentary bodies suffers immeasurably in public esteem. "Do you know how we at home look upon the activities of the Legislature this winter?" said a constituent to me when I got back to my district. "We look upon it as a joke, just a plain joke." Well, it is a dangerous joke, no matter in what part of the country the symptoms appear. A bungling attempt at property control on the one hand, and a tendency merely to pander to great groups of voters on the other hand, together may easily engender the spirit of Bolshevism in any civilization. In fact, these are the

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two elements that are producing Bolshevism throughout the world.

Of course there is no certain panacea for such a complicated political disorder. And there is no reason to believe that the disorder is confined to the State of New York. Similar symptoms appear about other State capitols. I do not believe that the voters of the country will give up the substance of the direct primary system of controlling nomination to important public office; but I do not see how unity of party purpose and an opportunity for the leadership of deliberation can once more be obtained except by combining some form of a responsible State convention with the direct primary, somewhat as Governor Hughes planned for it ten years ago in the State of New York.

As for the intricate system of subtle pressure known as modern lobbying, it ought to be quietly and carefully studied and checked by the legislatures themselves, not by spectacular investigations and smelling committees calculated to produce an exaggerated and erroneous impression, but in the spirit of doing what is wisest for good government as well as for the various parties in interest who are affected by pending legislation. These parties ought to be given every opportunity, under proper safeguards, to furnish intelligent and accurate information; but the whole unfair practice of subtle, powerful, deceptive pressure ought to be made difficult, if not impossible.

The party legislative caucus, now employed chiefly as a means of tying in members upon a proposal which of their own free wills they would not adopt, should give way to the party conference in which a genuine meeting of minds, if one can be procured, follows upon free discussion. Any other sort of meeting of minds for purposes of party unity is not worth having from the standpoint of good government and progress. The old mechanical caucus rule is a form of narrow Prussianism, long out of touch with the underlying spirit of American politics and the American people.

Increased salaries to State legislators would, I believe, bring favorable results out of proportion to the additional cost. "Only chicken-feed!" is the comment of the astute Charles F. Murphy upon the stipend of the Solons in the State Capitol. Reasonably well-paid men would from every point of view become better public servants.

It may be, and probably is, more or less of a coincidence that the vast growth of public expenditure in some of our commonwealths has gone on side by side with the deterioration in the system of political control. Anyway, it is becoming rapidly clearer to the relatively wasteful and improvident American people that a thoroughgoing budget system for the municipality and the State, as well as the Nation, is vital to a better governmental order. This realization has become acute in proportion as the system of taxation has become dominantly direct rather than indirect. It must be just as true in public as in private enterprise that a way can be found to check the vastly increased governmental expenditures of the last twenty years. If there is no way, then the future of democracy is dark.

I have attempted to draw what has been in the main an impressionist picture of the last decade of our politics in New York, and of certain existing defects in our governmental system, not with the purpose of condemning the excellent men with whom I am associated and for whom I have a warm regard, but because I believe that in a better legislative environment their capacity and earnestness would have opportunity to be of greater benefit to the State.

DOUGLAS STEWART—HIGHLANDER

BY JEAN CARTER COCHRANE

Not long ago a friend recounted to me the story of Mrs. Stewart's lonely vigil. It struck me as one of the most pathetic incidents I had heard during the war, and I have written it down that others might have the inspiration of it. The first part of the story was given me in bare outline, but the last part is in the exact words of my friend.—THE AUTHOR.

WE Scotch are a "dour folk." Our sorrows and our joys find no outward expression, but they strike deeper into our very being for that reason, and we look with envy upon those who are more easily moved to tears or laughter than ourselves. No race has given more freely of its own to the world war than the Scotch, and the unprinted book of their heroisms, their self-sacrifice, and their tragedies will probably never be published; but what reading it would make!

My own part in this crisis has been a peculiar one, unimportant and with no glory attached, and yet it has wrung my soul. My husband is the minister of a Scotch community in a manufacturing town in England, and it has been our portion to work among these people and help them when the bad news came of a son wounded or taken prisoner, and at times even to bring word of his death to those waiting anxiously in their homes. No pen can do justice to the beauty of character that has been revealed on such occasions, when some reserved man or woman has broken through the custom of years and showed the love that was burning in his or her heart for those who can never return.

Lads that my husband has christened and who were the hope of our church now lie beneath the scarlet poppies on Flanders fields. Will any one say that the minister's heart does not ache too, now that the war is over and almost every family has a vacant seat in the pew where Charlie or Donald used to be?

How I wish I could make vivid the house where Mrs. Stewart lived—although one might pass it every day with never a glance, it was so exactly like the other houses in the same row. The tiny doorstep and the little bow window with the geraniums in it and the coarse white curtains told no story of particular refinement or culture, but if one was interested in details one might notice that the brass of the front door-plate and the knocker shone like gold, and that no finger-marks marred the woodwork. Humble it would certainly look to you and me, but it was home to Douglas and his mother. They never talked to any one of their affection for each other, although sometimes Mrs. Stewart would say when he was away, with a shamefaced look at being caught praising him:

"Yes, Douglas is a good, steady lad;" and then, as an afterthought: "He should be; he had a good father and he is the last to carry on the race."

We were absent on our holiday when the war broke out, and, as traveling was stopped for troop trains, we could not return for several weeks. Shortly after we were settled at home I went to call on Mrs. Stewart, for I felt she would take the war hard because Douglas was her only child and he was not the sort of lad to remain behind.

The knocker was as bright as usual and there was only a second's delay until Mrs. Stewart stood in front of me. She led me into the tiny parlor in which she and Douglas had taken such pleasure. To many people the room might have seemed ordinary, but to one who knew the love it contained it was beautiful and homelike. One glance at the mother's face told the story.

"Douglas has not gone already?" I asked. "An only son who supports his mother should be the last to go."

"He could do nothing else," she answered, proudly, as though she was slightly nettled at the implied criticism. "The Stewarts have always been among the first to offer themselves when their country was in danger; I would not have him less brave than his fathers. I have a little money laid by in the bank against a rainy day or the time when Douglas is married, and I will take that. Could I have him stay behind and know that this money was waiting to be used?"

I checked the words that rose to my lips, "What if he should be killed?" for

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in those days we did not admit to each other that such a thing could happen to any one we knew—the fighting would be over too soon for that.

She seemed to see the thought in my eyes, however, and a shiver went through her, but she changed the subject by talking of how well he looked in his uniform, and how the training was developing him physically.

"It is better for him than being all day over the weary books in the office—he was growing round-shouldered; the Stewarts should be out in the heather, not stooping over accounts. He likes it all fine. He came in one night, two days after war was declared, and he leaned over and kissed me; you know, we do not often do that, so I understood what it meant." She put a hand to her heart as she spoke, as though a sword was piercing it. "'The regiment is called out, mother, and I have to go. You know I have to go, don't you?'

"I nodded, for I was so surprised I could scarcely speak, but at length I held up my head and said, 'Yes, Douglas, you could do nothing else; you will have to go!'"

"Will he leave soon?" I asked; for reports of the Allied retreat through Belgium had been received that morning and I knew that the volunteer regiments were being rushed to the front.

"I do not know exactly. He spent last evening with me, and something in his manner told me we would not have another, but he was reticent about their orders, as they are not allowed to tell. I asked him if he had no sweatheart that he would like to say good-by to, but he answered, 'You are the only sweetheart I have ever had, mother.' They say that at this time it is the mothers the boys cling to above all others," she continued, proudly.

The next morning when I was in town I heard that the —— Scottish were to march through in the course of an hour. It was Douglas's regiment, so I took up my position on the steps of the City Hall and waited. I had no time to get word to his mother, but I supposed she had been informed. I watched the people collect, and they were so interesting that I had no chance to grow tired. It was a hopeful and brave crowd, but there was no elation, for word had just been spread of the terrible slaughter that was going on across the Channel, and we began to realize that the lads were, many of them, going abroad to die.

On the opposite side of the street, some distance away, my eyes were attracted to the slight figure of a woman, decently dressed, who seemed alone in the crowd. She paid no heed to what went on around her, but listened intently to the pipes that were coming up the street. Suddenly it came over me that it was Mrs. Stewart, and that she was waiting to wave good-by to Douglas. The band came nearer, and then the gallant lads appeared, and I eagerly watched Mrs. Stewart, for I knew I could tell by her expression when Douglas arrived. She leaned forward anxiously to be sure not to miss him, clutching a handkerchief in her hand. Suddenly her face lighted, she drew herself proudly to her full height, and the bravest, most beautiful smile I have ever seen illuminated her features like a glory. Douglas passed so near that she might have stroked him with her hand, and an answering smile touched his lips, though he could not turn his head; but his figure straigthened, his head went higher, his step grew firmer, his mother's courage had added to his own. But when the regiment had passed and there were no more lads to be heartened I shall never forget how the glory died out of that mother's face and a look of unutterable despair and grief took its place, for the light of her life had gone out. It was only for a moment, then she recovered herself and resumed her expression of quiet resignation. I tried to hurry to her, but the crowd was too great, and before I could reach the place she had slipped away in the press.

Three years dragged their slow length heavily away, and Douglas, by some miracle, had escaped. He had been through Ypres and every engagement after, and almost all of his regiment had been wiped out. Three times he had been home on furlough, and after he had gone his mother told us proudly of the medals he had won and what his officers said of him. To us he would never talk of himself, but his last words as he left would be a request that we would "have an eye to mother."

"Mother" certainly needed it, for the years were treating her hardly, and she was aging perceptibly. Who would not grow old with such a dread at her heart? She never heard the postman's whistle but what she wondered, "Has he brought bad news to-day?" And in the long watches of the wakeful nights she would listen to the moan of the wind and think of Douglas up to his knees in the water of the trenches, and would sit up in bed to do one more row on the socks she was knitting him, for her laddie must not be cold for lack of comforts that she could make. On other nights she would listen to some lone footsteps on the street, and wait with dread until it had passed her door, for might it not be some one bringing the fateful telegram?

"Mrs. Stewart is wearying for Douglas," my husband would say with a shake of the head. "Will this wicked war never end?" And he would start on his rounds to try and bring courage and comfort to hearts where courage and comfort were burning low.

At last, a year ago in November, the message came. It was short, with not an extra word in it—"Douglas Stewart missing on the field of battle."

Of course we hurried at once to his mother, and found her still undaunted.

"They did not say killed," she exclaimed. "I will not give him up until I hear definitely that he is gone, for there are a thousand things that could have happened. I shall keep the home as though he might return at any moment."

We left no stone unturned to find some trace of Douglas. My husband fairly haunted the offices where intelligence about missing men was gathered and pulled every wire, to no purpose. Eleven months of waiting passed without a word, and we began to feel that no news would ever come, but Douglas's mother would not give up hope.

One Sunday in the following October, one month before the armistice was signed, I noticed that Mrs. Stewart's place in church was vacant. As she was as regular as clockwork, I determined to go as soon as possible and find out the reason for her absence. Her son's parting request to "keep an eye on mother" was always in my mind.

Unfortunately, the next day was so full I could not manage to get away, and early on Tuesday afternoon Mrs. Stewart herself called. I knew the instant I looked at her that she had received the tidings she had dreaded for the last four years—Douglas was dead. She read in my expression what I knew.

Quite calmly she told me how the word had reached her on Friday, and that, though she had tried to get up and come to church on Sunday, she had found herself so weak that she had decided to stay in bed.

"You see, I had to be in town on Monday, for I wrote to the business office where my boy worked about what had happened, and they sent a very kind note, saying the flag would be at half-mast for him on Monday afternoon."

"Did you go?" I asked, stupidly enough, for of course she had gone.

"Yes, I told no one, but just slipped in and stood at the corner, and there was the flag at half-mast while all the other flags were mast-high. As I stood there it just seemed the last thing I could do for my boy, and it was all over now. A gentleman passing by saw me crying and looked at me so hard, and I just wanted to say, 'That is in honor of my only child, the last of his race.'"

It was hard to comfort such sorrow as this, and yet Mrs. Stewart's heroism and the courage of all the mothers makes one look forward with hope and confidence to the future of the world.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of June 11, 1919

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: Austria Before the Judges; The Austrian Terms.

Reference: Page 223.

Questions:

1. From what The Outlook says on this topic select the most significant items about Austria and the Austrian terms. 2. Give with reasons your opinion of the following comment: "Austria is not being dismembered. She has always been dismembered. The peace terms merely record a process already completed." 3. Supply facts from Austrian history that seem to justify this statement: "Division, hatred, distrust, misunderstanding—these were the foundations of the Austrian Empire." 4. The Peace Conference has not published the indemnity and military clauses of the Austrian treaty. Tell what, in your opinion, some of these clauses should contain. Should Austria be made to pay as much as Germany? Reasons. 5. Has Austria ever rendered important service to civilization? Discuss. 6. What do you think the significance of the organization of the Rhine Republic is? 7. There are those who believe that the opposition of France to the union of Austria and Germany is based on misapprehension. The Outlook evidently disagrees with this point of view. Discuss both view-points and then tell what your own personal opinion is. Is there any basis at all in believing that the Germans of the Rhineland will bear watching? 8. A good interpretation of the forces of disruption at work in Austria-Hungary is found in von Schierbrand's "Austria-Hungary: The Polyglot Empire" (Stokes). Read also "Southeastern Europe," by V. R. Sović (Revell).

B. Topic: The Mexican Revolutionists; A Villain Unhanged; The Kaiser and the Law.

Reference: Pages 223, 224; 225; 228.

Questions:

1. Restate what The Outlook reports on the Mexican revolutionists. 2. Discuss whether the United States should aid any faction in Mexico. 3. What, in your opinion, do the long years of lawlessness in Mexico teach? 4. One writer says that "Mexico must set her own house in order." Tell Mexico how to solve this problem. 5. What reasons has The Outlook for calling Enver Pasha a villain and for advocating that he be hanged? 6. Describe Turkish atrocities among the Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks. 7. Do you believe that Turkey should be entirely forced out of Europe? Reasons. 8. Explain the position taken by The Outlook in its editorial on "The Kaiser and the Law." Give your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with The Outlook. 9. Three books well worth reading are "Mexico Under Carranza," by T. E. Gibbon (Doubleday, Page); "Mexico To-Day and To-Morrow," by E. D. Trowbridge (Macmillan); "Armenia a Martyr Nation," by M. C. Gobrielian (Revell).

II—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: Class Warfare by Bomb.

Reference: Page 224.

Questions:

1. Do the attempts on the lives of certain Americans described by The Outlook prove that there is here in America an Anarchist conspiracy of considerable extent and seriousness? Reasons. 2. In view of the facts and indications of a class warfare, name at least five things which, in your opinion, constitute the duty of public authorities of law and order. 3. Name and discuss duties of the common citizens as regards the activities and teachings of these assassins and their supporters. 4. Explain why the teaching that the way to liberty lies through class war is an insane dogma. 5. Discuss whether State and National authorities should abolish all I. W. W. and Bolshevik organizations, and deport promptly all men and women not American citizens whose utterances and acts show that they are in sympathy with such organizations. 6. Name fifteen ideals and teachings of true Americanism. 7. Books on the teachings of American democracy include the following: "Americanism: What It Is," by D. J. Hill (Appletons); "Bryce on American Democracy," edited by M. G. Fulton (Macmillan); "American Patriotism in Prose and Verse," edited by J. M. Gathany (Macmillan).

III—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

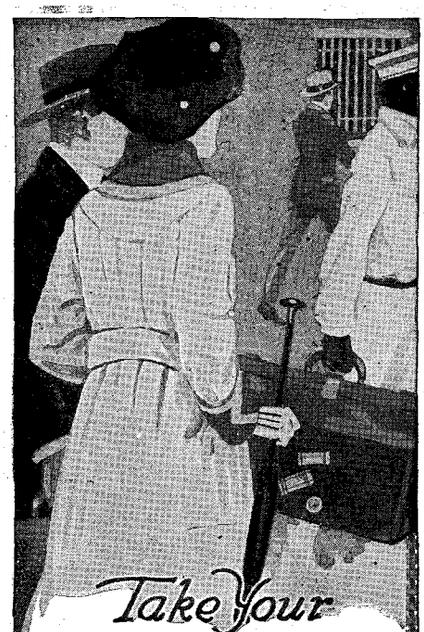
1. Economic interests should be subordinated to human interests. 2. A republican government is always on trial.

IV—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for June 11, 1919. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Opprobrium, contempt, bandit, thug (223); villain, scoundrel, irony (225); the academic mind, ingredient (228); plot, conspiracy, perpetrators, outrage, dogma (224).

A booklet suggesting methods of using the Weekly Outline of Current History will be sent on application



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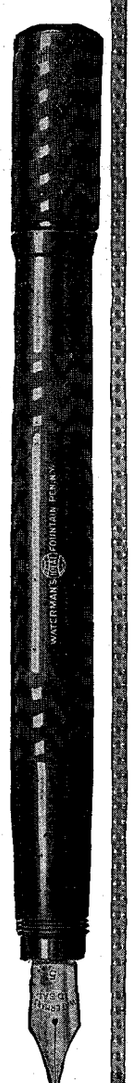

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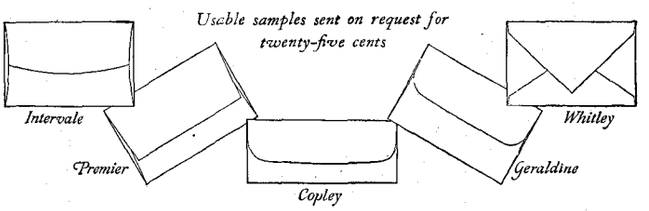

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That film is what discolors—not the teeth. It is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Dentists call it "bacterial plaque," because millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. Thus most tooth troubles are now traced to that film.

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Now this method is embodied in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And to let all people prove it quickly we are offering a free ten-day test.

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Ask us for this trial tube, then see for yourself the difference between old methods and the new. It will be a revelation.

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BROWNING AND THE KAISER

In considering the penalty to be inflicted on the ex-Kaiser, has any one noted the following quotation? Capoussachi speaks of Guido in Robert Browning's "Ring and the Book:"

Not death,—your lights will teach you clearer! . . .
Let us go away—leave Guido all alone
Back on the world again that knows him now!
I think he will be found (indulge so far!)
Not to die so much as slide out of life,
Pushed by the general horror and the common hate
Low, lower,—left o' the very ledge of things,
I seem to see him catch convulsively
One by one at all honest forms of life,
At reason, order, decency, and use—
To cramp him and get foothold by at least;
And still they disengage them from his clutch. . . .
And thus I see him slowly and surely edged
Off all the table-land whence life upsprings
Aspiring to be immortality,
As the snake, hatched on hilltop by mischance
Despite his wriggling, slips, slides, slidders down
Hillside—lies low and prostrate on the smooth
Level of the outer place, lapsed in the vale;
So I lose Guido in the loneliness,
Silence and dusk, till at the doleful end,
At the horizontal line, creation's verge,
From what just is to absolute nothingness—
Lo, what is this he meets, strains onward still? . . .
out of the ken of God
Or cave of man, for ever and ever more!

ELLA M. JOHNSTON.

Cleveland, Ohio.

THE FRIENDS OF OUR NATIVE LANDSCAPE

BY RAGNA B. ESKIL

If you are ever so fortunate as to be invited by the Friends of Our Native Landscape on one of their outing trips, go by all means, for they will let you enjoy yourself and nature as you please. If you want to go as the botanist does, with your eyes glued to the ground in search of new specimens, they will let you. If you want to carry the hammer of the geologist, they will let you. If, to the exclusion of every other sound or sight, you listen for the note of a certain bird, they will let you. Or if you want to hike for miles and miles, no one will stop you. But if you are like the most of the Friends, you will study only those birds and flowers and trees and stones that have a story to them, and, for the rest, you will let the spaciousness of the sky and the serene stretches of woods and hills and plains and lakes work their magic with you, and erase from your face the lines of fret and worry and from your souls the pettiness engendered by living too close to man-made things. You will feel your heart clutch at the wonder of a fringed gentian's heavenly blue against a brown background of withered brush, the altar stillness of a protected gully with the breeze swaying the trees at the top, the joy of a perfect leaf, the lesson of the

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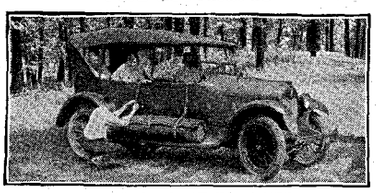

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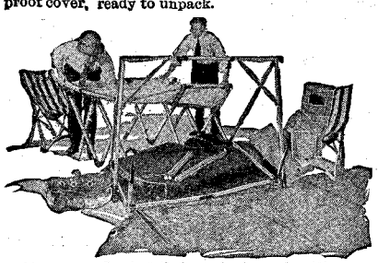

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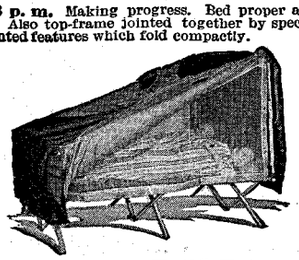

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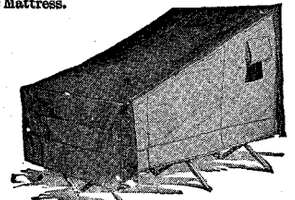

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial interest. The department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing with the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

LUMBER AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE SOUTH'S PROSPERITY

BY J. E. RHODES

Secretary-Manager Southern Pine Association, New Orleans, Louisiana

OF all lumber produced annually in the United States approximately twenty billion feet, or more than half, comes from Southern forests. Over 250,000 persons in 12,000 establishments are actively engaged daily in the manufacture of this material, the yearly output of which is valued at nearly $400,000,000, not including naval stores, chemicals, paper manufacture, and other by-product utilizations which have in themselves developed a commerce of great economic importance to this section. Indirectly, a population numbering fully 3,000,000 persons is dependent on the South's woods operations for a livelihood; in fact, lumbering is second only to agriculture in the South in the number of persons it employs, the capital investment represented (about $350,000,000), and wealth created.

It was little more than half a century ago that the increasing importance to the South of lumber began to be appreciated. While naval stores production is perhaps the oldest industry in America, lumbering proper was not undertaken on an extensive scale in the South until well after the Civil War, when the forests of the North began to become depleted and the need for new areas of standing timber caused the capitalist and the lumberjack to turn their thoughts toward the magnificent stands of pine, hardwood, and cypress which thickly covered the vast undeveloped territory extending through the States bordering the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Subsequent rapid development of the industry, especially during the last four decades, is strikingly set forth in the following comparative census returns, 1850–1910, the latest year for which Government figures are available, for the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Texas:

THE SOUTHERN LUMBER INDUSTRY

Year.	No. of Establishments.	Capital Invested.	No. of Wage-Earners.	Wages.	Cost of Materials Used.	Value of Product.
1850.....	1,441	$4,883,215	6,605	$1,378,608	$2,446,178	$6,528,846
1860.....	2,147	10,613,795	11,193	3,017,924	5,879,415	15,172,825
1870.....	2,678	9,739,846	15,285	3,988,500	9,267,577	20,680,308
1880.....	3,138	14,289,964	17,648	3,578,372	15,461,640	25,003,128
1890.....	3,312	54,480,906	45,130	13,346,048	32,105,861	61,329,169
1900.....	7,090	129,169,948	76,303	22,773,205	66,046,665	121,919,485
					Taxes Paid	
1910.....	10,103	310,706,281	237,283	98,588,360	2,614,812	273,286,220

These figures do not include the important lumber-producing States of North and South Carolina and Virginia, the addition of which would contribute materially to the impressiveness of the showing.

While the number of lumbering operations apparently reached close to their zenith about 1910, other factors involved in the above compilation have increased from twenty per cent to fifty per cent, especially the items of wages paid and value of product.

In some of these States practically half the population is directly engaged in the production of forest products. Twenty billion feet of lumber is more than the whole United States furnished in 1880, and it is estimated that there is still enough uncut timber in the South to last twenty to thirty years.

The outlook for the lumber industry is, at the present time, particularly bright. With adequate and intelligent extension of credit by this country to the war-ridden people of Europe, an enormous demand will be made for forest products, sufficient to tax the capacities of the mills for a long period, without taking into consideration an unprecedented domestic demand. The normal annual imports of lumber by European countries, based upon figures for the year 1913, are 21,240,986,000 feet, of which the United States supplied 2,700,575,000 feet, or 12.7 per cent of the total. During the last four years exportation of lumber has been almost entirely cut off through lack of shipping facilities and suspension of building everywhere.

The consequent heavy arrears in lumber imports from these causes will have to be made good, besides the inestimable amounts required to rebuild the devastated areas. The export trade itself will prove a very sustaining element in the future of the lumber industry.

The demand for lumber for domestic needs will be no less pressing than that from foreign countries. According to Brookmire, reports from 105 cities of the United States indicate that from the beginning of the war in Europe in 1914 to the time our country engaged in it, April, 1917, the dammed-up demand for domestic construction amounted to $1,824,000,000, and since April, 1917, to $1,206,000,000, making a total of delayed construction in these 105 cities since August 1, 1914, of $3,030,000,000. This situation in the entire country, upon which we have no figures, will serve greatly to swell results.

In addition to the demands to take care of work in immediate prospect, the lumber manufacturers will be called upon to make heavy shipments to fill depleted stocks of the dealers. Recent figures show that present stocks of the dealers are seventy-five per cent of normal. Also the stocks now carried by the mills are much below normal. Figures for 147 representative Southern pine mills show that stocks at the present time are approximately forty-six per cent of the stocks on hand January 1, 1915.

I am convinced that the South will continue to enjoy prosperity, if for no other reason than that furnished by the sustaining element of the tremendous volume of business which is in sight for the lumber industry, both domestic and foreign. The productive capacity of Southern lumbering

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Lumber as an Important Factor in the South's Prosperity (Continued)

operations is enormous, and the Gulf States of America have the best and most readily available supply of lumber in the world, sufficient to take care of domestic needs and ship almost unlimited quantities abroad for a number of years. I think, therefore, that the South may reasonably expect the lumber industry to contribute materially to its increasing wealth and growing commercial greatness.

A SOLDIER'S IMPRESSION

A soldier-student who went through the Argonne and is now in the American School Detail at the University of Montpellier writes of a visit to an old abbey not far from there in a way that seems interestingly characteristic of the effect on our college men of the rather intimate contact with the rich traditions of the Midi:

My visit was to the Abbaye de Valmagne. Somehow I had a rather unthinking expectation of finding monks at prayer or preparing for the [Easter] feast. At first sight the abbey appeared half hidden in a grove of great wind pines and lilac bushes in the center of broad fields of budding vineyards. The day was perfect, the sky an unblemished blue, the air still, the sun at high noon. Everything seemed to say that it was the first day of the Provençal summer.

I rattled a wicket or two, rapped at a stable door and two others. There was no response. The buildings appeared as they might have appeared four hundred years back, but no living soul broke the spell of the hot noon. At last a man called to me from the upper story of the old dormitories. He pointed to a door and indicated a stairway by which I came soon into the small vaulted room where he and his old wife were having dinner. They were the caretakers. They invited me to eat and drink with them. Afterward the old man took down his huge keys and showed me willingly and silently—a great virtue in a guide—through every corner of the old abbey.

Two views among all the climbing in towers and galleries were by far the most memorable. There was the cloister. The walls had ripened into an indescribable pink, a tint that puts all flesh coloring to shame. The tracery of the vault literally melted into the walls. This softening of color forbade shadow, or subtilized it beyond recognition. In the center of the central garden was a fountain, surrounded by columns united with a frieze and crowned with hollow tracery, that is, with the ribs only, of stone, like the pistils of a flower that bend together at their tips.

It is not necessary, I think, to say what the spirit of this deserted cloister was. It had not been deserted by its spirit. The cloister had gone on with that unconcern for time and change befitting the immortals, ripening and mellowing itself to the very core of the stone under the silent impress of the Provençal sun.

Then the old fellow took me into the abbey itself. There were twenty-one chapels in the aisles of the great abbey. The Lady-chapel had been left bare. In each of the others, lying in the cool shadow, was an immense vat of the Marquis's wine. No penitential procession had yesterday solemnized the Crucifixion, as for hundreds of years had been the unquestioning practice. No glad crowd of peasants and priests would celebrate to-morrow the feast of the Resurrection. Only the wine in great vats will be three days older and stronger and better to sell.

On one pillar of the north transept hung a heavy metal bell, discolored, blue and green. I touched it lightly with a finger nail, and the tone which it sent out, pure and low, into the farthest shadows of the spacious nave sounded like a note of magic to conjure up in beauty all the sadness of forgotten virtue and frailty, long buried, and a world outworn.

B. W. W.

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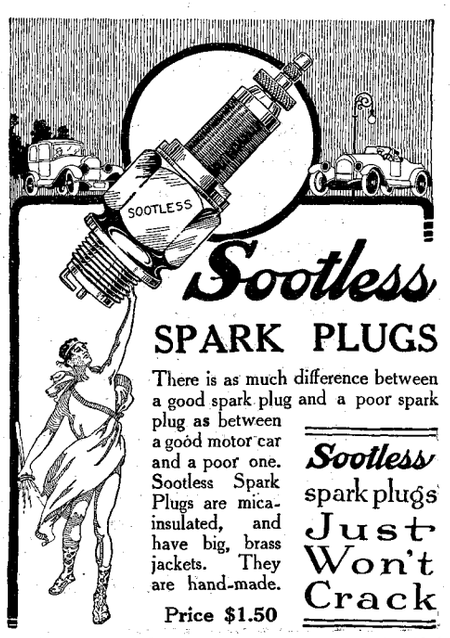

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Representatives' Division, Department A

The Outlook

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THE NEW BOOKS

This department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

FICTION

Blue-Grass and Broadway. By Maria Thompson Daviess. The Century Company, New York.

A Kentucky girl comes to New York, becomes a writer of plays and sees the theatrical world in its joyous and dangerous aspects. The little romance is animated and amusing.

Lucky Mill (The). By Ioan Slavici. Translated from the Roumanian by A. Mircea Emperle. Duffield & Co., New York.

Oranges and Lemons. By Mary C. E. Wemyss. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York.

Yellow Lord (The). By Will Levington Comfort. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

A tale of an apparently languorous mid-Pacific island in which a miniature war arises out of the ill treatment by a greedy tea-growing company of its native workers, who are deliberately made slaves to opium, and so become mere industrial slaves also. Plot and incident are strange and exciting.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Rousseau and Romanticism. By Irving Babbitt. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

A close literary and philosophical study of romanticism in literature, not merely as it affected the French writers from Rousseau down, but as it afforded a new direction to imaginative writing in all modern *belles-lettres*.

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

American Indian as Participant in the Civil War (The). By Annie Heloise Abel, Ph.D. (The Slaveholding Indians Series, Vol. II.) The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland.

The part taken by the Indians in our Civil War, on both sides of the great conflict, is here set forth in great detail. It forms an interesting and hitherto almost entirely neglected chapter in the history of the war.

Conscientious Objector (The). By Walter Guest Kellogg. Introduction by Newton D. Baker. Boni & Liveright, New York.

Fighting the Spoilsmen. By William Dudley Foulke, LL.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

No student of current-day politics should be without this book. It describes the progress of Civil Service Reform from the early efforts for reform to the outbreak of the present war. In so doing it analyzes the Civil Service records of Presidents Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. Of these men the author declares that "Mr. Roosevelt was more consistent and energetic than any other President in advancing the reform." Mr. Foulke finds Mr. Wilson's first term "mainly reactionary" in this regard, but notes that his second term has been marked by at least one important Civil Service reform event, namely, the institution of competitive examinations for the position of postmaster of the first, second, and third class.

French Blood in America (The). By Lucian J. Fosdick. Illustrated. Richard G. Badger, Boston.

In reading this volume one is astonished at the number of prominent Americans who have a strain of Huguenot blood. The list includes three Presidents—Tyler, Garfield, and Roosevelt; Paul Revere, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, John C. Fremont, Henry D. Thoreau, John G. Whit-

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The New Books (Continued)

tier, Admiral Dewey, and Thomas F. Bayard. The book tells of all these and many others in somewhat discursive style, with many entertaining anecdotes. As a history of Huguenot influence in this country it aims at being comprehensive.

Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta. 1683-1711. By Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D. Vols. I and II. (Spain in the West Series—Vols. III and IV.) The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland.

Father Kino was one of the great Jesuit missionaries of early American history. He was notable as a man of action, an intrepid and indefatigable explorer, as well as an evangelist. This carefully edited work shows that he excelled also as a historian. His memoirs, here translated, furnish an invaluable commentary on the beginnings of the Southwest.

WAR BOOKS

Last Million (The). By Ian Hay. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Major Beith, British officer and author of "The First Hundred Thousand" and other virile and vivacious books about the war, here writes about "that born fighter and modern crusader, the American doughboy." He evidently has known our soldiers well, and he presents them as they are, with cordial friendliness.

National Governments and the World War. By Frederic A. Ogg and Charles A. Beard. The Macmillan Company, New York.

There are different kinds of democracy, and its chief exponents have latterly instituted notable changes in governmental organization and procedure. Our own Government, for example, in the Draft Act, the War Insurance system, in its Liberty Loans and tax laws, in the control of food, fuel, railway transportation, ship-building, express, telegraphs and telephones, in its Espionage Law, and in the many Federal agencies for war administration, has registered a high mark in the subjection of capital and labor, land and natural resources, to Governmental authority. We realize that even in peace time supervision of railways and of labor conditions cannot be left as much as before to the free course of private initiative. Thus the war has shown that a genuine democracy is quite compatible with a centralized government, and we now see that many powers evoked by war may also be exercised to the public good in the enterprises of peace.

World War and Leadership in a Democracy (The). By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D. The Citizen's Library. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The author draws from his personal experiences in Germany to show what leadership in an autocracy has meant and how valuable expert leadership has been to the German Empire. He also shows us what leadership in a democracy means and how such leadership necessarily differs from that in an autocracy. He thus outlines the essential differences between Prussian and American ideals. With regard to the latter, we are glad to note, Dr. Ely does not fail to suggest improvements in our own form of government, especially as regards National defense. He is anxious that we shall have the advantage of universal military service, which has proved its worth in Switzerland, where it has existed for generations. He points out that such service, as a part of the education of all the people, does not mean militarism; that, on the other hand, such service strengthens a nation not only in defense, but also in intellectual and economic activities and as an agency of true progress

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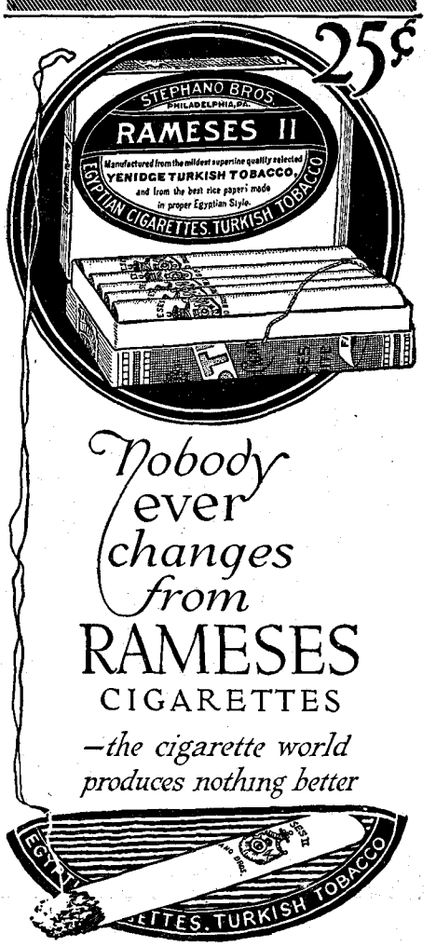
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The Outlook

381 Fourth Avenue, New York City

BY THE WAY

Palisades Inter-State Park, at Bear Mountain, New York, is operated by a park commission, an unpaid body, which carries on the enterprises of the park without the aid of commercial concessionaires. It operates lunch stands and restaurants, provides omnibuses for visitors at cost rates, offers facilities for camping, and has a system of free rowboats by which any one who deposits twenty-five cents can have the use of a boat for half an hour's row on the Hudson, with his money back at the end of his trip.

The doughnut which opened the Salvation Army drive in New York City was cooked on an improvised stove on the steps of the Sub-Treasury Building by Commander Evangeline Booth. It was sold at auction, while still too hot to eat, for $5,000. This is probably the highest price ever paid for an edible dainty. During the Civil War a fifty-pound bag of flour was sold in a similar way for the Sanitary Commission for $150,000, or at the rate of $3,000 a pound.

What city has the best claim for the famous bronze horses that were taken down from St. Mark's at Venice during the war, to save them from destruction? Venice has had them for seven centuries, but before that Constantinople claimed them, and Athens, and Rome in the last days of the Empire. Now Rome has them again—they were sent to her for safe-keeping—and she doesn't want to give them up. Napoleon also coveted these splendid specimens of ancient art, and for a while they graced one of his triumphal arches in Paris.

People who like to do unusual "stunts" on the occasion of a wedding are now finding the performance of the ceremony in an airplane much to their taste. An event of this kind recently took place in Texas in which, a despatch states, a giant Handley-Page bombing plane carried up a wedding party of twelve persons, including both a plane pilot and a "sky pilot." The latter pronounced the happy couple man and wife at an elevation of 2,000 feet. From these heights of bliss, the despatch adds, the party descended safely to earth.

Mrs. Samantha Stanton Nellis, of Naples, New York, has the distinction, so a newspaper paragraph says, of being the oldest living member of the Methodist Church. She was born on June 1, 1810, and her one hundred and ninth birthday was celebrated with special services by the Methodists of Ontario County. Her life has spanned the century of missionary effort which is now being signalized by the Methodist denomination.

The "Conning Tower" credits this apology to the Deep River (Conn.) "New Era:" "In this column last week the type made it read that J. Feinstein has just received a new line of narrow skirts. It should have read Arrow shirts. This correction is gladly made."

And this *lapsus* is credited to the "Scientific Monthly," the inference being that the dread epidemic has attacked even the printing-press: "The author of this article, distinguished for his explorations in tropical countries, died from influenza while it was passing through the press."

"The biggest saloon in the world," said a recent despatch to the New York "Sun," "which is located at Bridgeport, Ohio, will

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By the Way (Continued)

close its doors Monday night, May 26. It employs seventy-seven bartenders and clerks. For the past four years it has sold an average of twenty thousand drinks a day." The eminence of Bridgeport in this respect would thus seem to exceed that of Mexicali, just across the border in Lower California, which for several years claimed to have "the longest bar in the world." But why is Bridgeport thus distinguished?

John McCormack can tell stories as well as sing, it seems. Here is one of his after-dinner anecdotes: "Two Irishmen were at work when the whir of an airplane was heard. One of the men stopped work and gazed up at the machine. Then he said: 'Oi'd not loike to be up there in that thing, now.' Said the other, also gazing: 'Well, oi'd not loike to be up there mesilf without it.'"

A quick-witted Salvation Army man gathered in a tidy sum in New York City during the "drive" for thirteen millions. He asked two Salvation Army lassies to stand beside him on the platform and said: "Soldiers have been decorated in various ways, but there is only one way to decorate these girls." Thereupon, taking two one-dollar bills from his pocket, he pinned one upon each of his fellow-workers. The crowd proceeded to follow his example, and in a few minutes both girls were covered with greenbacks from head to foot. When their decorations were removed they totaled $287.

The "Journal of the American Medical Association" prints this skit under the head of "Business as Usual:" "Peevish customer (to druggist)—'You gave me prussic acid by mistake for quinine this morning.' Druggist—'Is that so? Then you owe me fifty cents more.'"

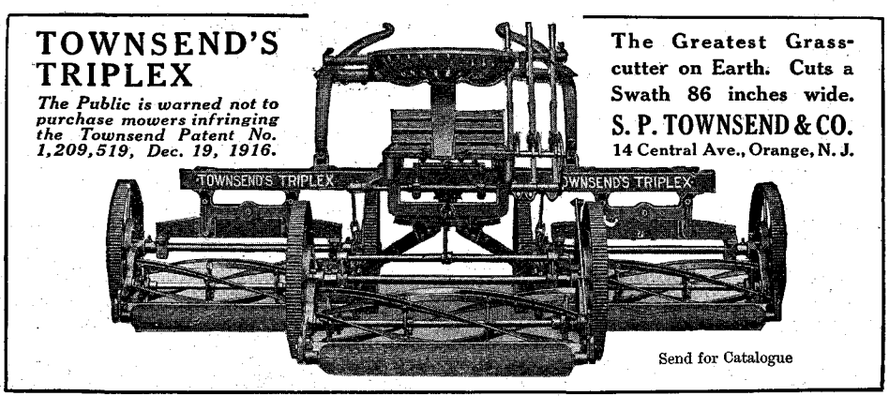
A story told of the late Bishop Greer illustrates his unassuming character. On an occasion when he was to confirm a class, goes the story, a carriage was sent for him in charge of an English coachman who had been imported by a wealthy American. Bishop Greer walked unaccompanied and in non-clerical dress from his front door to the carriage and entered it—but the driver did not move his horses. After waiting for a moment the Bishop asked the man why he did not drive on. "I'm waiting for the Lord Bishop of New York, sir," he replied. "Well," said the Bishop, "I'm it. Drive on."

Boys have apparently been having their own way in some places during the war, but will have to submit to discipline again. An Irish paper's police court news contains this item *in re* a complaint brought against a boy for trespass:

> The boy's father, O'Neill, said he had already given the boy a good "hiding" for trespassing on the mill premises, and promised that his son would not be found there again. The lad, he said, might have got a little out of hand during the four years that he was away in the army, but he could assure their worships that his son would not trespass on the mill premises again.

The same paper contains this extraordinary advertisement under the head "Thanksgiving:"

> Thanksgiving to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, through the intercession of Our Lady, Help of the Sick, and glorious St. Roch, for the extermination of the foot-and-mouth disease in Ireland. Four Masses offered in 1912 and Mass once a year every year since.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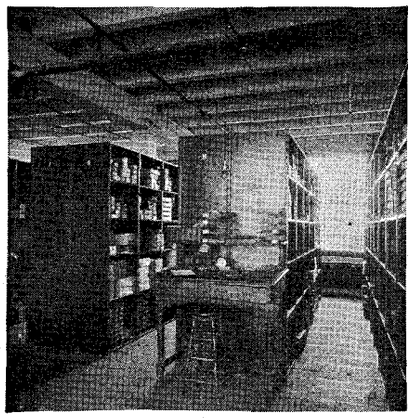

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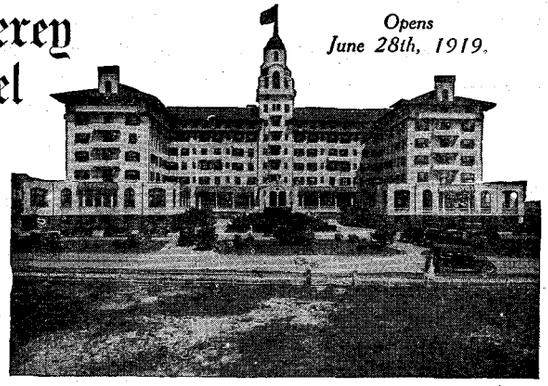

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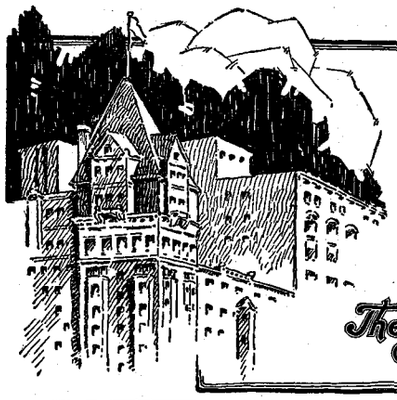

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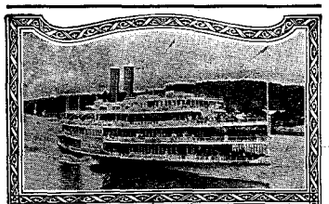

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Hotels and Resorts

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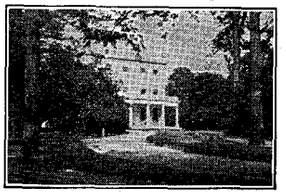

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Essex-on-Lake Champlain

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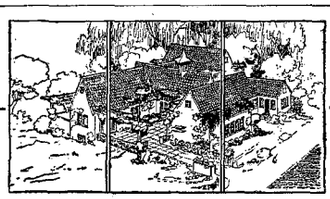

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